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STUDY
Lithograph by John S. Sargent

AMERICAN GRAPHIC ART

BY

F. WEITENKAMPF

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WITH ILLUSTRATIONS

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A WORD OF EXPLANATION

THE history of American painting and sculpture has been written more than once in recent years. That of the reproductive graphic arts as a whole remains to be told. There are such monographs as W. J. Linton's excellent and partly polemical record of American wood-engraving and Ripley Hitchcock's very useful volume on etching in the United States, both published in the eighties of the last century. There is, too, D. McN. Stauffer's alphabetical record of our engravers on copper, an invaluable book of reference. But the only connected and comprehensive account of American graphic art appeared, strange to say, in German. In the last decade of the nineteenth century, the *Gesellschaft für Vervielfältigende Kunst,* of Vienna, issued its monumental four-volume work on "contemporary reproductive art," the history of the achievement of the nineteenth century. In this, the American section was covered by the late S. R. Koehler for etching and wood-engraving and by the present writer for lithography. The story is one worth telling in English. And it should be carried back to the early products of our art, of such a strong historical interest, and down to the most recent efforts at original expression, as we see them in the present revival of painter-etching, and in the individual adoption of the wood block and the lithographic stone as painter-media.

The object of the present book is to group scattered facts in a brief but clear review of the whole field of American graphic art. It is not intended to present a detailed list including every artist who may have practised any of these arts in this country, but to offer a survey that will bring out salient or characteristic personalities and tendencies.

In place of a formal bibliography, citation of literature on special topics is made at the proper places in the body of the book.

Thanks are due to Messrs. Charles Scribner's Sons for permission to reprint certain paragraphs from my contributions to their magazine. F. W.

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AMERICAN GRAPHIC ART

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CHAPTER I

ETCHING: EARLY ATTEMPTS AND THE NEW YORK ETCHING CLUB PERIOD

THE first strong impulse toward the practice of painter-etching in this country came at the time of the founding of the New York Etching Club in 1877. There was a preliminary period of preparation extending over a dozen years, marked by the efforts of such men as Falconer, Cole, Warren and Forbes. Still earlier sporadic efforts take us back into the eighteenth century.

According to W. S. Baker, Joseph Wright's portrait of Washington (1790) was probably the first etching executed by a painter. This profile, done "with much taste and freedom," said Baker, enthusiastically, was evidently copied in the similar one by Joseph Hiller, Jr. (1794). The latter was described in a pamphlet (1907) by Charles H. Hart, who saw four impressions, all on the backs of playing cards, and found the original plate. It is recorded also that St. Memin etched two large views of New York City, and a business card for Peter Mourgeon, *copper-plate printer from Paris.* And one may go farther and extract from the pages of Dunlap's "History of the Arts of Design in the United States," or Stauffer's useful work, or Ripley Hitchcock's little vol-

ume on "Etching in America" (1886), packed with information, names such as that of Pigalle (1797), who did title-pages, or John Rubens Smith (like D. C. Johnston, Hugh Bridport and others, he practised various methods), or Francis Kearny (said to have studied the soft-ground process as well). Dunlap himself was initiated by Peter Maverick into whatever the latter might know of etching and executed a frontispiece for a "dramatic trifle," published in 1797 or 1798 (a portrait of Wignell, the actor, in the rôle of Darby). As for opportunity to study the technique of the art, printed directions existed here at least as early as 1794. In that year there was reprinted in Philadelphia the sixth edition of an English work entitled "The artist's assistant in drawing, perspective, etching, engraving, mezzotinto-scraping, painting on glass, &c.," of which Chapter III, pages 33-37, is devoted to etching. A copy of the little book, bound up with seven other pamphlets into one volume, was in Washington's library.

A picture of the *Theatre in Chestnut Street, Philadelphia,* signed *Gilbert Fox Aquafortis,* was presumably done about 1800. And we cross over into the new century with Alexander Lawson, the engraver, who "had points made for etching and tried that." He found employment with Thackara and Vallance, whose "attempts at etching miscarried." W. Birch's "Country Seats of the United States" (1808) are also to be noted, as is the crude view of the Battle of New Orleans, signed *Francis Scacki.* And William Charles executed in soft-ground etching and roulette, for Rees' Cyclopedia,

two facsimiles of drawings by Poussin. At this time, also, Dr. John Rodman Coxe experimented in etching on glass with fluoric acid, executing a little landscape which was published in the "Emporium of Arts and Sciences" (Philadelphia) for 1812.

But all of this early history is little more than a record of names and attempts. Excepting possibly a few productions, such as those with which Benjamin West (1801-2) is credited, or those signed by Thomas Middleton, an amateur (1814), there is hardly anything of that time that can be regarded as painter-etching. Not only was most of it a matter of application of the art to portraiture and other practical ends, as in John Baker's plates of *The Battle of Bunker's Hill,* and of *Washington Crossing the Delaware,* done early in the thirties, but etching was, furthermore, usually not employed in its purity, but as a basis for line-engraving.

There was an early attempt to use etching as a reproductive art; that, too, came to nothing. Robert W. Weir said that about 1820 he "copied some of Rembrandt's etchings so close as to be with difficulty detected," and he "was on the eve of turning my attention seriously to the publication of etchings from various old pictures in the possession of different gentlemen in New York, but . . . it fell through after the first or second plate was finished."

England, from which so much of our art influence came in those days, furnished models for us also in the fields of caricature and book-illustration by etching. In the first few decades of the nineteenth century, etched

caricature of the period of the third and fourth Georges had a weak reflection here in the productions of William Charles; and, later, George Cruikshank was imitated, in manner and choice of subject, in the "Scraps," which were issued periodically for a time in the thirties and forties, by David Claypoole Johnston. The Dickens period of illustration by etching, in England, had likewise its imitation here. Yeager re-etched the Cruikshank plates for the American editions of "Harry Lorrequer" and other books, and Frank Bellew illustrated the 1853 edition of John T. Irving's "The Attorney" in the manner of Phiz. All of which is recorded here, not because of any noteworthy influence on the development of original etching, but simply on account of its historical interest.

One must not look in this early work for any of the characteristics of etching that we have learned to appreciate and prize. As Hitchcock points out, the etchings shown at the early Academy exhibitions in New York no more deserved the name than did the engravings of Smillie. Dunlap spoke of etching as a mere "auxiliary to engraving," and that is precisely what it was in his day and for a generation and more afterward. The fact that etching was used as a first stage in line-engraving on steel would not necessarily promote original production. (Nevertheless, etching in its rôle of a handmaid to line-engraving was used with knowledge and delicacy by such men as James Smillie, A. H. Ritchie and R. Hinshelwood.)

In one case, that of John Gadsby Chapman (painter of the Pocahontas picture in the rotunda of the Capitol

at Washington), a natural predisposition to a measured precision of statement, joined to a liberal use of the ruling machine for the skies, resulted in plates of a delicate, neat execution that have much of the formality of bank-note art. And in the occasional etchings of a professional engraver such as Joseph Yeager, who etched portraits and closely copied Cruikshank's plates for American editions of some books illustrated by him, one expects even less to find the freedom and swing of the needle used as a means of direct personal expression. Even George Loring Brown, who did a series of nine etchings in Rome (1853-55), published here in 1860 with the title "Etchings of the Campagna," was influenced by the conventions of the time. Like Chapman he affected finish and tone; but his effects are richer. Emanuel Leutze and E. J. Kuntze are listed among those who did some etchings at about this period. Hermann Carmiencke, who came to this country in 1851, executed plates with the completeness of effect of a Waterloo, or Dietrich ("Etchings of American, Italian and German Views," published by Emil Seitz, New York). T. F. Hoppin pictured the *Escape of Captain Wharton* and the *Rescue of John Smith* in peculiar, heavy outlines for the American Art Union (1848-50). The fact that the volumes on "Tuscan Sculptors" (1864) and "Italian Sculptors" (1868), by Charles C. Perkins, were illustrated in etching by the author, is noted simply on account of this somewhat unusual use of the medium.

A highly valuable historical review of this introductory period was offered in the exhibition of nearly six hundred

In the introduction to the fourth volume of the publication of the Société des Aquafortistes Français, 1866, says Koehler, Castagnary wrote of Cadart's influence here in rather superlative terms, as having won "a new continent for the cause." Some impetus to the practice of original etching was given by the Frenchman's efforts, but the results do not appear to have been far-reaching.

Furthermore, an earlier impulse toward the practice of original etching is to be noted. Henry Russell Wray, in his "Review of Etching in the United States" (1893), writing with knowledge of Philadelphia affairs, records that as early as 1860 or '61, John Sartain illustrated the process of etching, by practical demonstration, for Thomas Moran and S. J. Ferris.

The attention paid to etching as a possible means of expression for the painter began gradually to increase, and to be based on more seriousness and discrimination. The possibilities of the art were being more fully appreciated, the individual note became more pronounced. The little landscapes of A. W. Warren (died 1873), unpretentious, simple in method, showing much of what etchings should have, are among the most satisfactory results of this period. In 1872 Henry Farrer entered on the path since followed with such success by Pennell, Mielatz and others, by bringing out a series of views of New York. Farrer had an idyllic vein, a liking for tonality, a preference for sunset effects with the simple, direct expression of mood which they permit,—all characteristics sure to win popularity—and honest artistic feel-

ing withal. Also I have seen at least three plates by Wyatt Eaton, two heads and a study of a plant (1877). All these are not startling facts. There were neither daring innovations nor brilliant achievements, nor even, on the whole, a full understanding of the problem presented. But there was decidedly creditable accomplishment and the soil was being successfully prepared. Ripley Hitchcock comments on the too heavy inking of Forbes's *Life Studies,* lacking the refinements mastered in Paris, and on the too dry printing of Warren's little landscapes, which, says he, appeared to much better advantage when reprinted in later years, having lost much of their hard, dry character through intelligent printing. This throws light on the defective knowledge here, at that time, of an important factor in the production of prints. Mr. Sidney L. Smith told me that the first "retroussage" printing was done in Boston in the early seventies. Estes and Lauriat wanted to have an etching by Rajon after Bonnat (Italian children) printed, and turned over the electro to Daniels, a well-known copper-plate printer. He printed with a "clean wipe," as one does from a visiting card plate. But the original had been "retroussaged," a method then unknown here (even S. R. Koehler did not know of it at that time, added Mr. Smith). Daniels fussed over the plate and finally worked out the matter by himself. Many of our etchers have since then been their own printers: Whistler, Pennell, Smillie, Yale, Mielatz, White and others.

Meanwhile, at the Philadelphia Centennial Exhibition of 1876, the etchings included a number of plates by

plates by about a hundred American artists, held in the Boston Museum of Fine Arts in 1881. It included work by Dunlap, D. C. Johnston, R. W. Weir, W. Franquinet (1845), W. W. Weeks (1845), Thomas G. Appleton (1847), Henry B. Gay (1849), J. G. Chapman, William Wilson (1849) and Edwin White (1849). And so we come to about the middle of the century, when painters began to interest themselves in the art.

Whistler had begun his French set as early as 1858, and his Thames set in 1859, but there was no immediate response here to the appeal that his works constituted. It remained for the next generation to appreciate fully such works as his *Kitchen, Vieille aux Loques* and *Black Lion Wharf*. After them came his Venice plates, of a vivacity, a sureness of vision, a sense of adjustment of means, a pre-eminent mastery in selection, an exquisiteness of execution that have placed him in the front rank of the etchers of all time. It is surely not necessary here to say more, to attempt to summarize what has been written of his etched work by the Pennells, Bacher, Menpes, Théodore Duret or Miss E. L. Cary. Two definitive catalogues of his plates have been issued, one by Howard Mansfield for the Caxton Club of Chicago (1909), the other by E. G. Kennedy for the Grolier Club of New York (1910), the latter sumptuously illustrated with a reproduction of each etching.

From the eighties to the present, the influence of Whistler has been decidedly felt in the work of our etchers. Meanwhile, however, we are in the sixties, and witnessing somewhat different tendencies and movements.

The late S. R. Koehler, in the chapter on the United States which he contributed to the important folio volume in German on contemporary etching ("Die Radirung der Gegenwart," Vienna, 1892-93), rather ingeniously points out that it was the rising French influence in art, after the middle of the century, bringing with it the note of individualism which was the real factor of importance in the development of painter-etching here. Before that, under the domination, successively, of England, Italy and Düsseldorf, with the accent on the subject in the picture, there were produced plates by men who worked in the spirit of the engraver, such as J. G. Chapman and George L. Brown, already referred to.

In 1866 Cadart, the Paris publisher of etchings, came to the United States, held an exhibition of French etchings in New York City (in the Derby Gallery—Chauncey L. Derby, 625 Broadway), and formed an American branch of the French Society of Etchers. A number of artists were interested through Cadart's efforts, Victor Nehlig, Edwin Forbes, J. M. Falconer, Charles H. Miller, J. Foxcroft Cole among them. Forbes, who had been an artist-correspondent during the Civil War, did a series of *Life Studies of the Great Army.* They were only drawn by him on the grounded copper, however; the biting and printing were left to other hands. Falconer, who had made his first attempt in 1849, had, as Koehler says, "an open eye for the poetry of decay," and a peculiar, rough manner of presenting his views of streets and old buildings in New York, Boston and other cities, but he surely could work also in high finish.

Americans,—G. L. Brown, Forbes, Peter Moran, S. J. Ferris, Volkmar (two plates "done in Paris and exhibited at the *Salon,*" says Wray). The medal was awarded to Peter Moran, of whose prints a dealer ordered twelve sets and published them in a portfolio. Publication of etchings was undertaken here much earlier, however. Emil Seitz has been named, and Hitchcock records that F. B. Patterson (who secured plates and tools and endeavored to interest such artists as C. S. Reinhart and E. A. Abbey) "began to deal in portfolios of French etchings soon after the Cadart exhibition," and issued a portfolio of Farrer's New York views in 1872. "By degrees," Hitchcock adds, "print collectors began to look for modern etchings."

Notwithstanding all this, it appears that when the Fairmount Park Art Association (of Philadelphia), having purchased the *Dying Lioness,* issued an etching of the group by Peter Moran, it was met by most of the subscribers with forcible disapproval. They had expected an engraving, asked "what is an etching," and generally considered themselves swindled. There was evidently a field here for pioneer effort in improving the state of knowledge of the art.

On May 2d, 1877, there was held the first meeting of the New York Etching Club. On that occasion, three men joined in the production of a little plate for the instruction of their fellow-artists. James D. Smillie, whose knowledge of technical processes was unsurpassed in this country, "grounded" the plate; R. Swain Gifford, the landscape painter, drew the design; and Dr. Leroy M.

Yale, a physician and an enthusiastic and able etcher, worked the press. The original plate is to-day in the print room of the New York Public Library, and the print appears also as a frontispiece in J. Ripley Hitchcock's "Etching in America." A delightful description of the production of this little plate was given by J. D. Smillie, who was particularly active in promoting and spreading interest in the art, in the preface to the illustrated catalogue of the club's first exhibition. This initial show was held in 1882, and included foreign work.

For a number of years the exhibitions of the club, with the quarto catalogue illustrated with etchings, formed an interesting pendant to the annual display of the American Water Color Society in the old Academy building at 23d Street and Fourth Avenue, New York City. A number of artists responded, with discriminating understanding, to the impulse for painter-etching which made itself felt. In their different individualities they emphasized the variety of effect possible to the etching needle. Some of them ran to prettiness, to sweetness, to that smoothness of statement and choice and treatment of subject that find a readier response from the average man than does an appeal to a higher standard. We need not judge that harshly to-day. Was it natural on the artist's part, was it an intentional tempering of the atmosphere to the prospective purchaser's taste, was it perhaps a necessity thus to prepare the general public gradually for the appreciation of good painter-etching? At all events, there remains so much work of more than creditable attainment,

that we can look back on this period with a satisfaction that does not need the apologetic attitude of patriotism.

The movement was not limited to New York. Organized interest and effort in the cause of painter-etching crystallized around similar organizations in other cities. The Boston Etching Club, founded in 1881, held its first exhibition in 1883, with a catalogue etched throughout, text and illustrations; among the members were E. H. Garrett, F. T. Merrill, F. G. Attwood and J. E. Baker. The Scratchers' Club, of Brooklyn, born in 1882, under the auspices of G. W. H. Ritchie, Walter M. Aikman, Carleton Wiggins, Benjamin Lander, Stanley Middleton, Charters Williamson, W. E. Plympton and Edwin E. Rorkey, lived for a few years. (I saw a reference to a Brooklyn Etching Club in the old New York "Studio" as late as 1890.) "Sometimes," says Mr. Aikman, "one of the members would have a plate to 'bite,' and our friend George W. H. Ritchie pulled the proofs. We never had an exhibition for the simple reason that we never made enough plates to hold one." Both Boston and Brooklyn were antedated by Cincinnati and Philadelphia, where organizations were established in 1880. The Etchers' Club in the former city included H. F. Farny, M. Louise McLaughlin, the ceramic artist, who wrote a little treatise on etching and had an exhibition of her work in New York in 1892; Emery H. Barton, Elizabeth Nourse and Caroline Lord. The Philadelphia Society of Etchers held its first exhibition in the same year (1882-83) as the New York club, and an etching

class formed in the Philadelphia Sketch Club also did much to popularize the art.

Wray notes with satisfaction that the Philadelphia society was founded by men with a "much more advanced knowledge of etching" than the rank and file of the New York association. The membership list included P. Moran, S. J. Ferris, Pennell, Parrish, B. Uhle, J. Neely, Jr., W. J. Le Fevre, Hermann Faber, H. R. Poore. Of the catalogue of this first Philadelphia show, "devoted exclusively to painters' etchings," there was issued also a special edition, quarto in size, with etched illustrations. It included 1,070 numbers, of which 356 were by American artists; the introduction was by S. R. Koehler, as was the one in the catalogue of the Boston Museum's exhibit of 1881. The latter comprised 548 pieces by 106 American artists, covering the country from New England to California, for even San Francisco is represented by some plates by Virgil Williams and pupils. Seven names stand for Cincinnati, two for Chicago and three for Indianapolis. The list includes also one plate by George Inness. In the same year (1881) the Royal Society of Painter Etchers in London held its first exhibit, to which the American artists, Bacher, Albert F. Bellows, Church, Duveneck, Falconer, Farrer, Gifford, Kruseman van Elten, M. N. and T. Moran, Parrish, Smillie, Vanderhoof and Otto Weber contributed. Interest was stimulated also by Sir Seymour Haden's lectures on etching during the winter of 1882-3 in New York and 1883-4 in Philadelphia, and in other cities.

So the seed was falling on receptive ground. Much of

the product is forgotten to-day, but much also stands as a noteworthy reminder of this spreading interest in a fascinating art. Indeed, not a little of the work is quite astonishing in its sureness, considering the comparatively slight experience of its authors. "In quick mastery of detail and ready adaptability," said Hitchcock, "it would be hard to surpass our etchers; but want of originality, lack of the personal inspiration behind the executing instrument, the timidity or presumption of inexperience, and want of training—in drawing, for example—are betrayed upon the copper plate as easily as upon the canvas. . . . But criticism is met by one fact. All this production of etchings has been evolved from nothing within a very few years. A new field has been opened in American art." American etching of the second half of the nineteenth century will have an honorable place in the history of the art.

Time spent in looking over the plates which painters such as R. Swain Gifford (who etched as early as 1864), J. C. Nicoll, Samuel Colman, Kruseman van Elten, Peter Moran, Thomas Moran, J. A. S. Monks, John H. Hill, Charles H. Miller and W. L. Lathrop found time to produce is well repaid. A noteworthy characteristic of their work is its sanity, its conservative abstention from undue striving after effect or forced individuality. Most of it is born of an understanding of the limits of etching —though not fully of its resources—and of its peculiar nature. It offers such contrasts as the big, picturesque swing and sweep of Thomas Moran's *Gate of Venice,* the light grace of F. S. Church, the finished effect of

Courtesy of F. Keppel & Co.

MUD BOATS ON THAMES
Etching by Charles A. Platt

Kruseman van Elten and the few lines and scratches of C. H. Miller's *A Sun Shower*. In the last the impression of an effect is gained in some way shorter even than the short-hand method of J. B. Jongkind, the Dutch etcher. In such a case, much depends on the printing; clean-wiped, such an etching would be a mere skeleton.

There was, too, a group of men who devoted themselves more or less exclusively, even if only for the time being, to etching, or who, at least, were best known in their capacity as etchers. Stephen Parrish (now painting), whom Hamerton characterized as "sincere and straightforward," soon emancipated himself from whatever influence of Appian has been found in his earliest works. His power developed rapidly, and he executed eighty-six plates in the years 1879-83. Charles A. Platt (since turned to landscape gardening), whose deft sureness and judicious and delicate suggestion were shown especially in his treatment of water, brings to mind such masters of that specialty as Haden and Storm van's Gravesande. A catalogue of Platt's plates was prepared by Richard A. Rice (1889), and of other etchers there are helpful dealers' exhibition catalogues in the case of Parrish (1886), Peter Moran (1888) and Thomas and Mary N. Moran (1889), and museum or society exhibition catalogues in the case of J. D. Smillie, Blum, Pennell, Getchell and others, and a manuscript list (1906, in the New York Public Library) in that of Yale.

James D. Smillie was, until his death in 1910, a living link between those days and the present, and there are others still etching to-day. Charles A. Vanderhoof, an

excellent original etcher; Thomas R. Manley, who found interest in such subjects as the Hackensack meadows, and could give completeness of pictorial effect without insistence on detail; and Alexander Schilling, Joseph Pennell and C. F. W. Mielatz. Other names come to mind: W. C. Bauer, W. Goodrich Beal, Prosper L. Senat, Robert F. Bloodgood, Carlton T. Chapman. More yet can be gleaned from the Boston (1881) and Philadelphia (1882) exhibition catalogues or in Will Jenkins's American chapter in Charles Holme's "Modern Etching and Engraving" (New York, 1902); not all, however, can be said to have enriched American etching by noteworthy additions.

A great variety of method and manner and viewpoint is offered in the considerable product of those days.

The bulk of the really noteworthy work was in landscape. Figures appear much less frequently and animal pieces yet more rarely. Water always had a certain attractiveness on account of its effects of reflection and movement. River and harbor scenes were depicted by Farrer, Platt and others. Coast scenes, similarly bringing water and land into juxtaposition, likewise occasionally held the attention of etchers,—Pennell, Mielatz, Moran, Parrish. J. C. Nicoll laid more weight on the water itself, as, for example, in his *In the Harbor*. In such a plate, or in the two or three attempts by M. F. H. de Haas, we get more of the feeling for, and understanding of, the sea. Koehler records promising beginnings in the same direction by Walter F. Lanfil, without farther results.

Among those who paid some attention to figure subjects in etching were J. J. Calahan, J. Fagan, F. M. Gregory, W. H. Shelton, J. W. Beatty, Joseph Lauber, H. N. Hyneman, L. Moran, F. W. Freer. All working with intelligent craftsmanship, but usually not in the spirit of painter-etching, striving for a completeness of effect that gives their work the appearance of having been done after paintings. Many of the artists of the day, in fact, were drawn to reproductive etching, even Winslow Homer (*Saved* and *The Life Line*), whom one would have expected to develop into a true painter-etcher. Alfred Brennan, a deft pen-draughtsman, showed picturesque qualities. I. M. Gaugengigl paraphrased some of his paintings of eighteenth century subjects in a free, swinging style. F. S. Church repeated in his plates the world of mermaids, nymphs, captive and love-sick lions and what not of his paintings, with a happy acceptation of appropriate limits, in a light, summary, merely indicating manner in harmony with the playful spirit of his subjects. John Ames Mitchell, who was originally an architect and subsequently became editor of "Life," did some plates, mostly in Paris, among them a series of ten, *A travers l'Exposition 1878,* and a scene on the stage of the Paris opera house, all in a lively, graceful style, and with a touch of humor, qualities which we find later in his pen-sketches for "Life."

Expression of American life was practically absent in the work of our figure etchers, if we except reproductive plates such as those in which Thomas Hovenden so well copied his bits of negro character (*Dem was good old*

Times, etc.), or those in which T. W. Wood attempted to translate his own paintings.

Animal subjects were even less frequently to be met with. One thinks naturally of the few plates by J. Foxcroft Cole, and of the sheep-pieces by J. A. S. Monks. Most noteworthy were the cattle-pieces of Peter Moran, in which completeness of effect is joined to a free and vigorous line, so that one does not get the impression of an attempt to imitate engraver-like finish. In them, elaboration is joined to the "discretion which knows where to stop," wrote Mrs. Schuyler Van Rensselaer, who added that they showed no "finish" for the mere sake of finishing. Moran remained the artist-etcher, though occasionally succumbing, like Parrish and others, to the temptation of the time and of the publishers, by doing very large plates for wall decoration. While these large framing-prints are good of their kind, his smaller ones will remain the most valuable.

Quantitatively, as already said, it is in pure landscape etching that the greatest amount of noteworthy effort appears, and with a refreshing understanding of the art and a wide range of personal expression. There is the "nervous vitality" of Thomas Moran, a master of technical aids to serve his purpose. His prints vary from small ones in which effects are simply indicated, to large ones carried out in complete reproduction of paintings by himself and others. All are marked, however, by boldness in conception and vigor in execution, and, as Koehler puts it, "with a successful indication of color effect."

There is the more serene temperament of H. D. Kruse-

man van Elten, with a happy choice of subjects likely to be popular (*Twilight on the Housatonic* et al.) skilfully presented with a disdain of mere suggestion that leaves little to the imagination of the beholder. This last quality is apparent also in the painstaking minuteness, accentuated by dry printing, of John H. Hill, among whose best plates is one after his father, John W. Hill, a happy rendering of a placid landscape, with cattle fording a stream. B. Lander, too, was devoted to detail and tone.

Again, there is the richness of color in Samuel Colman's characteristically individual scenes, original in conception, usually etched in strong lines with dry-pointed tones, and done in an artistic spirit that stimulates the imagination. Like Colman, R. Swain Gifford was a true painter-etcher. While attracted by motives in the Orient, Venice and Holland, he made his strongest appeal in the expression of the mood of the apparently monotonous scenery of the New England coast. He attained his effect with few lines, lightly yet firmly set down.

James D. Smillie, a master of technical media, had to counteract the influence of years of service in the cause of line-engraving, with its formality, and of commissions to do reproductive work not always worthy of his powers. As I remember him, even to the end of his long and useful life he was his own severest critic. And whenever he had the opportunity to employ his mastery of etching, or dry point, or aquatint or mezzotint in the production of a plate done *con amore,* absolutely for its own sake, the result was apt to be a joy to the eye. One may single

out, for example, his flower-pieces, drawn in dry point directly from nature, among them a bunch of pansies of remarkable variety and gradation.

Pennell, referred to in his early days as "the Meryon of Philadelphia," is known particularly as an etcher of city views, a draughtsman of astounding sureness of eye and hand. He used and is using his art with quick resourcefulness, and with a simplicity and directness born of the ability, so necessary in etching, to select, and resulting in what some one, in his case, has called a "wise reticence in line." A well-illustrated monograph on his art, by the present writer, was published in Vienna in 1910. Mielatz, like Pennell, is identified closely with the beauty and interest and picturesque qualities of the city, especially of New York City. These, often unnoticed, his artist's eye sees clearly and his hand makes clear to us, with frequently a freshness of view that invests them with the interest of a new scene. His versatility is indicated by the fact that while Huneker well said of him, "His line is firm, virile, lean, even ascetic, rather than rich or luxurious," and concluded that he was therefore at his happiest in architecture, Mielatz was at about the same time doing his series of views at Georgian Court, Lakewood, which are noteworthy for vivacity and richness.

A large proportion of all these artists worked in pure etching, but other aids were occasionally resorted to. Thomas Moran's command of such helps has been referred to. His wife, Mary Nimmo Moran, used the roulette in various plates, and "Scotch stone" (a substance used to reduce plates) in *Twilight, Easthampton.* Parrish

Courtesy of F. Keppel & Co.

THEATRE ROYAL, HAYMARKET
Etching by Joseph Pennell

sometimes roughened his plate by acid or other means, S. J. Ferris employed roulette and stipple, and *Road to the Beach,* by C. F. W. Mielatz, an indefatigable experimenter in technical processes, is executed in roulette, aquatint and soft-ground etching. The last-named process has been employed by J. D. Smillie, C. A. Vanderhoof, Henry Farrer (who showed a small plate at the New York Etching Club in 1888), Kruseman van Elten, and more recently by Mary Cassatt, A. T. Millar, George Senseney, or by Mielatz, again, as in his *Pell Street Balcony,* marked by what Huneker called " his delicate sense of color sparingly indulged in." The somewhat unfortunate effect of double printing in the sky of J. C. Nicoll's *In the Harbor* is caused by the employment of a double needle, and the late Dr. Yale told me that he occasionally used a half-dozen or so of needles set in one handle. The use of such short cuts is always of questionable appropriateness.

Still another noteworthy factor in the production of most of these men is their efficiency as printers. Smillie was an excellent printer; so was Moran, whose plates are said to have given best results when he did the printing himself. Parrish knew how to get effects in printing, often leaving the sky blank, for example. Pennell has often been his own printer, and Mielatz is an expert at the press. Whistler's attention to this important part of the etcher's equipment is well known; the penciled butterfly and " imp " is a familiar addition to proofs of his plates, and some of the latest photographs taken of him show him at the press. And not a few of the younger

men who will be considered in the next chapter have realized the importance of the printer's art and have practised it successfully.

The fair sex contributed a notably large proportion of our etchers. Not a few of them worked in a more serious spirit than that which may have inspired Hood when he wrote in his lines on the "needlework art" of etching:

> "It scarce seems a ladylike art that begins
> With a scratching and ends with a biting."

The exhibitors at the New York Club and elsewhere included a number of women. Their work was also shown separately at the Boston Museum in 1887, and at the Union League Club, New York City, in the following year, with a catalogue for which Mrs. M. G. Van Rensselaer wrote an interesting introduction. Of this number were Miss Cole (sister of Thomas), who experimented with the etching needle as early as 1844, Eliza Greatorex (another artist who has delineated the picturesque side of New York City for us), Mrs. Anna Lea Merritt (one of our few etchers of figure subjects), Mrs. E. L. Pierce Getchell, Mrs. J. H. Twachtman ("whose few little plates are treated with surprising freedom and lightness," wrote S. R. Koehler), Ellen Oakford, Gabrielle D. Clements, Blanche Dillaye, Margaret W. Lesley (now Mrs. H. K. Bush-Brown), Mary Cassatt and Mrs. Mary Nimmo Moran. The best of their work deserves praise unmodified by any reference to sex and supposed

weakness, as the present writer pointed out in an article on "Some Women Etchers" in "Scribner's Magazine" for December, 1909.

Mrs. Moran, a virile talent, with all her energetic emphasis and bold directness, did not lose sight of the pictorial effect which occupied her primarily. Generally, her etchings are marked by energetic emphasis rather than delicacy or smoothness, yet *Autumn, Edge of Georgica Pond, Easthampton,* is of a sunny lightness.

Miss Mary Cassatt has helped us to see the beauty in the relation between mother and child without calling in the adventitious aid of silly prettiness or saccharine sentimentality. Her dry points, with their wise restraint of linear expression, robust in method and sensitive in feeling, are among the best work produced in this field by Americans. She lives in France, where she was first appreciated, and where until quite recently she was understood better, probably, than in her native land.

While this wide-spreading movement, centering about the associations mentioned, was witnessed here, Whistler had found Venice. His Venice, a city of picturesque bits of canal, of inviting doorways and cool arches, light balconies and graceful architectural ornament. Such he showed her in a series of delightfully airy and sunny impressions of this Queen of the Adriatic as she appears today, without any paraphernalia of ducal grandeur and civic or ecclesiastical display and circumstance which lent its pomp to the Venetian scenes of quattrocento or cinquecento painters such as the Bellinis. Interest does not center about any story concerned with the human figures

in his etchings; they simply take their place as parts of the scene. With Whistler in Venice were Frank Duveneck, Otto Bacher, Theodore M. Wendel and others, forming a little circle of American artists. Charles A. Corwin, George E. Hopkins and H. Rosenberg, in Italy at about the same time, produced only isolated plates, akin to each other in manner and subject. The Whistler influence has been felt to most recent times, even in the work of artists who subsequently assimilated it. Bacher has left an interesting record of those days in his book "With Whistler in Venice" (New York, 1908), and the sale of his collection after his death (1910) brought to light some plates by Americans whose work is not often seen: Duveneck, of course, but also Miss Armstrong, S. L. Wenban and Wendel (whose style has been characterized as "delicate and charming").

Duveneck did three plates of the Ducal Palace, Riva, so much in Whistler's manner that they were actually taken for that artist's work. His only other plate exhibited was *Desdemona's House* (1881),—so said Koehler, but, at all events, the catalogue of the Bacher sale included nine plates by Duveneck beside the three "Ducal Palace, Riva" etchings. Wenban, an Ohio artist who did much of his work in Munich, and whose somewhat Haden-like *A Bavarian Forest* is said to have won high praise at the *Salon,* was addicted to detail, yet broad in manner. His work offers such contrasts as his *Rushing Brook,* of a Klinger-like hardness and precision, and the remarkably free and airy *Brook in Winter.*

Bacher himself executed a number of etchings of un-

Courtesy of F. Keppel & Co.

SUMMER AT EASTHAMPTON
Etching by Mrs. Mary Nimmo Moran

usual force, concerning which I recall two critical comments. Seymour Haden said of the Venice set: "The whole of it, accessories and all, evinces a strong artistic feeling. Bold and painter-like treatment characterizes it throughout. S. R. Koehler, writing of the Bavarian plates, notes that it was characteristic of Bacher that he "passed unmoved the Walhalla . . . and then stopped to make a loving study of a rickety old wooden bridge." Koehler adds, too, that later, under the influence of Whistler, Bacher's manner "o'erleaped itself and degenerated into wildness. And yet it is impossible to close oneself against the telling effect of these plates. A stormy life surges in them."

On the other hand, J. Alden Weir went his own experimental way in a number of interesting and striking landscapes and some portraits. An article in the "Gazette des Beaux Arts" for September, 1911, holds out the prospect of a return to etching on his part. John H. Twachtman echoed the delicate impressions of evanescent light and color effects of his paintings in a few etchings. Robert F. Blum produced some twenty plates, among them his own portrait and *The Hag,* of a peculiar richness and snap, all the more interesting as he discriminatingly avoided the transference of the Fortuny method of his pen-and-inks to the copper, a tendency all too natural for the illustrator. Blum did one plate, by the way (*The Modern Etcher,* 1883: a portrait of W. M. Chase, who himself did a *Jester* and two or three other plates), by a process of photographing a pen-and-ink drawing on to a specially prepared ground. The result

was a pen-and-ink drawing rather than an etching. It is not exactly easy to clearly define the difference. Its appreciation is based on recognition of the old truth that the nature of the medium imposes its character and its limits on the result, and that the etched reproduction of a pen-and-ink drawing somehow does not have the same quality as an etching produced in the usual way.

There was, in all that is here recorded, undoubtedly very much disinterested enthusiasm for an art that is peculiarly fitted for a certain intimate expression. The movement made up of all these individual efforts found support in the "American Art Review," which furthered the cause of etching in the same conspicuous and discriminating manner as Hamerton's " Portfolio " in London. Edited by that sapient German, Sylvester Rosa Koehler, it was one of the most noteworthy and distinguished art periodicals we ever had. It was issued at Boston during 1880-82, and before effacing itself with a graceful valedictory it published etchings (painter-etchings, generally) by a number of American artists, with critical appreciations by Koehler, and a catalogue, in each case, of the artist's work. Koehler's effective agitation, by the way, included also a large volume on etching in general (New York, 1885), and was carried on likewise by word of mouth. While he was delivering a lecture on etching at the Gotham Art Students' rooms in New York City, Shirlaw roughly sketched his portrait on a plate which, I understand, was bitten and printed from in the course of the address. Two impressions form part of the Avery collection in

the New York Public Library, one marked in pencil: "Nov. 27, '85, 2d impression at Mr. Koehler's lecture on etching, Gotham Art Student Rooms."

The "American Art Review" went out of existence, but the seed was sown, and a number of sumptuous volumes, published in limited editions, and often in various forms to suit different pocketbooks (e.g., with "vellum proofs" at $100, "satin proofs" at $50 and "Japan proofs" at $35, all three with "remarques"—"remarques" must have had a rare attraction for the budding amateur—and "regular impressions on etching paper at $12.50). There were "Original Etchings by American Artists" (1884), and "American Etchings" (1886), both with text by S. R. Koehler; "Recent American Etchings" (1885), "Notable Etchings by American Artists" (1886), and "Representative Etchings by Artists of Today in America" (1887), all three with text by J. Ripley W. Hitchcock; "Some Modern Etchings" (1886); and "Famous Etchers" (1889). Among the artists represented in these publications were Bacher, Blum, James J. Calahan, J. Wells Champney, Church, Gabrielle D. Clements, J. F. Cole, Samuel Colman, Elliott Daingerfield, Farrer, J. L. G. and S. J. Ferris, F. W. Freer, E. H. Garrett, I. M. Gaugengigl, R. S. Gifford, F. M. Gregory, M. F. H. de Haas, Hamilton Hamilton, Wm. St. John Harper, Herman H. Hyneman, James S. King, H. D. Kruseman van Elten, Katherine Levin, Anna L. Merritt, Mielatz, Monks, Mrs. M. N., Peter and Thomas Moran, J. C. Nicoll, Parrish, Pennell, Platt, Joseph F. Sabin, Walter Satterlee, S. A. Schoff, W. H. Shelton, J. D. and George

H. Smillie, Charles Volkmar, Frank Waller, T. W. Wood and L. M. Yale.

Beside all the many names mentioned in connection with what I may call this "New York Etching Club period," there are still a considerable number more to be found in the catalogues of the Boston (1881) and Philadelphia (1882) shows,—W. C. Bauer, Frank W. Benson, A. H. Bicknell, C. H. Eaton, John H. Niemeyer, William Sartain and many others. Some idea may thus be formed of the remarkable extent to which etching was taken up by American artists in those days. It was not all first-class work that they produced, not all done in the true etcher's spirit, but all illustrating, even by the surprising number of names, the rapid rise of interest among the public, the creation of a market.

Market suggests dealer, and the full record of etching in this country cannot be found, the complete list of those who practised the art in good, bad or indifferent manner cannot be drawn up, without referring also to the catalogues of certain print dealers. Such, for example, as Klackner's "American Etchings" (New York, 1888). In this latter, beside names mentioned elsewhere in this chapter, we find F. A. Bicknell, A. F. Bunner, M. J. Burns, C. C. Curran, Edward Loyal Field, O. H. von Gottschalk, George R. Halm, Louis K. Harlow, F. Leo Hunter, Daniel Kotz, C. Morgan McIlhenny, E. F. Miller, Roland Rood, H. M. Rosenberg, C. H. Woodbury and Theodore Wust. H. Bolton Jones (*Winter*), Robert V. W. Sewell (*Canal Houses, Dordrecht*), Carroll Beckwith and R. C. Minor are still others who tried

their hands at etching, and at the exhibition of the New York Etching Club, as late as 1893, there appeared work by Robertson K. Mygatt, R. Cleveland Coxe and Leigh Hunt.

About this time also was formed the "Society of American Etchers," which had for its object: "First, the elevation of the art of etching; and second, the limitation of editions; every proof being guaranteed by the stamp of the Society." J. D. Waring was publisher for the Society, and Platt, Nicoll and Mrs. Moran were represented in the Society's exhibition in November, 1888.

There were even some incursions into the field of book-illustration. Samuel Colman did plates for Alice Durand Field's "Palermo" (1885), and Dean Sage's "The Ristigouche and its Salmon Fishing" (Edinburgh, 1888) contained etchings by Platt, Henry Sandham and Mrs. A. L. Merritt. The last-named also executed some plates for a volume on her deceased husband, and in a book-seller's catalogue I came across editions of Goethe's "Faust" (1888) and "Hermann and Dorothea" (1889), both issued in Philadelphia, with etchings by Hermann Faber. Recent publications of the Bibliophile Society of Boston have contained etched portraits by W. H. W. Bicknell and James Fagan.

Etching has also been called to the service of antiquarianism, of the interest in local and national history. William Sartain etched Fraunces's Tavern for the Sons of the Revolution, W. H. Wallace and S. Hollyer illustrated New York City and Robert Shaw delineated, for the Colonial Society of America, buildings and places promi-

nently identified with the colonial history of our country.

There was a certain use of etching for portraiture also. It had generally been used for that purpose as a preliminary to line-engraving, but in certain instances, as by H. B. Hall (in the seventies), portraits were done entirely in etching. The freedom of the etched plate as compared with the formality of the steel-engraving, made its appeal, and was exemplified by some artists. By Max Rosenthal and his son Albert, who did a series of portraits of American historical characters; by S. Hollyer; and with particular sureness of hand and richness of effect by S. A. Schoff, who signed portraits of Joseph Rodman Drake, Hawthorne and wife, etc. Gustav Kruell and F. S. King, the wood-engravers, each made at least one effort with needle and acid, the former in a bust of George W. Curtis, the latter in one of Alexander Hamilton. Their colleague, Thomas Johnson, etched a number of portraits, varying somewhat in merit, but including the characteristic ones of Lincoln, Walt Whitman (the one with the hat), Cardinal Manning and the master printer, Theo. L. De Vinne. He also did one of S. P. Avery, which a number of the latter's friends presented to him on his eighty-first birthday. In our day, Jacques Reich has issued a number of carefully executed portraits of American statesmen, Washington, Jefferson, Franklin, Webster, Lincoln, Cleveland, McKinley among the number. S. L. Smith, too, has signed some portraits, including one of Theodore Roosevelt.

The remarkable amount of work produced in the period

extending from the early seventies to the early nineties, naturally implied public support, but the cause of painter-etching suffered in the end. Commercial possibilities became apparent and were exploited. Production, also, was cheapened. As the "Sun" pointed out in 1894, the publishers of reproductive etchings killed the goose that laid the golden eggs; the demand was large, and slow, artistic printing was replaced by quicker and cheaper methods.

The story picture's appeal apparently also did its work. Not that I would warm up the old arguments regarding art for art's sake. We should all of us in time realize that we cannot ever get away entirely from the subject-matter in the work of art. The artist cannot appeal by technique alone, if that technique be a mere parade of its self-sufficient perfection, or indeed the result of school-acquired deftness barren of ideas, if it express no individuality, no mood, no sentiment, no lesson, no moral. But the cheaply effective sentimentality which is usually most sure of general applause has as its almost inevitable concomitants a paucity of ideas worth while, a colorless artistic personality, a slickness of manipulation that conceals its essential weakness. And such a combination is of a depressing effect on art.

True as this all is, in a general way, it sounds rather ungracious as an introduction to a paragraph on reproductive etching. For we had clever men who took up this branch of art, men of adaptative talent who rendered into black-and-white the canvases of celebrated artists—or such as would be sure to bring returns. For the paintings were not always worthy of the talent exercised in their repro-

duction, which the "Curio" pointed out as early as November, 1887. There's the rub, the element of weakness—or at least a very considerable factor—through which this art lapsed, after its day of success, of rich harvest for publisher and artist. The eternal law of the fitness of things is ever applicable. The virtue of appropriateness is so often lost to view. It seems sad to see decided ability employed in putting on copper hyper-sentimental presentation of home life ideals and other quite morally inoffensive pictorial stories and tracts, making an appeal wholly on the basis of the story. And, on the other hand, third or fourth rate talent might masquerade in the guise of originality in "painter-etchings" without any quality of personality or technique worth talking about.

Reproductive etching, employed in the proper spirit, on worthy work, was its own best justification. It is, indeed, as Koehler, Wray, and no doubt many others have pointed out, an unfortunate popular prejudice which rejected any reproductive work while accepting inferior productions because they were "painter-etchings."

Robert W. Weir's plan to reproduce various old pictures in the possession of New Yorkers, in etching, as early as 1820, has been referred to. It was not repeated until half-a-century later.

In 1875 S. J. Ferris, a careful worker, who stippled and rouletted to get tone and color, etched a head after Fortuny and two plates after Knaus. The success encouraged the publisher to order *The Chariot Race,* which was etched by Ferris and Peter Moran. Wray records

that prepared copper being not easily procurable at that date, these two artists "pounded out the bottom of a copper boiler, and coated it with their home-made preparation." A few years later, James S. King, then in Paris, produced some heads after Rembrandt (drawn directly on the plate and sold to "L'Art" in 1882, says the artist) and Hals. They were executed with a knowledge of the process due partly perhaps to discriminating study of the works of Flameng and other French masters of the art.

This newly-opened field was cultivated by the dealers with such energy that a number of artists were enlisted in the cause. It is a peculiar circumstance and denoted a somewhat unnatural condition, perhaps, that nearly all of these reproductive etchers were won from the ranks of painters and not from those of the professional engravers and etchers. Two men among these latter who were particularly well equipped for such work—James D. Smillie and Stephen A. Schoff—were almost entirely passed over. Smillie did some smaller plates after Bridgman, Homer, Jacque, Pasini, for the "American Art Review" and a large and effective one after Huntington's *Goldsmith's Daughter*. Schoff, in his portrait of Mrs. C. F. Adams after Wm. M. Hunt, for instance, showed a formal, though not mechanical, manner that well rendered the "quiet nobility of the original." Koehler cites later work as examples of the freer style which he developed,—portraits of Gen. Devens after Vinton and of a young lady after Thayer, *At the Piano* after Fowler—each showing an effective variation of treatment in ac-

cord with the original. Sidney L. Smith, whose work is always marked by taste and discretion, also did some small plates of remarkable delicacy, used as book illustrations,—Bastien-Lepage's *Jeanne d'Arc* and Makart's *Diana's Hunting Party*—as well as some etchings of art objects for the defunct "Studio" of New York.

But in the list of names which we find signed to the reproductive etchings of those days there will be recognized a number of men known as painters, who were thus led to turn to the task of interpreting, with varying degrees of success, their own works as well as those of other painters. Thomas Moran showed a truly "phenomenal skill"; Thomas Hovenden reproduced *Dem was good old Times* and others of his own paintings; Hamilton Hamilton signed such ambitious plates as *The Communicants* after Breton (1886), *The Fisherman's Courtship* (published by J. D. Waring, 1889), and Hovenden's *In the Hands of the Enemy;* Shirlaw translated E. Johnson's *The Reprimand.* Charles Walter Stetson is also to be noted; his large plates after French artists, executed for a private gentleman in Providence, are characterized by Koehler as highly effective despite their wild daring and the etcher's deficient schooling. S. J. Guy, C. Y. Turner, F. Dielman, W. H. Lippincott, Leon Moran, C. R. Grant and others were similarly engaged in putting into black-and-white the works of various painters, principally Americans. To these are to be added others who were more completely identified with the etcher's art: James Fagan, H. Pruett Share, Miss Edith Penman, F. Raubichek (among whose plates was *Evening Shadows,*

MOTHER AND BABY
Dry-point by Mary Cassatt

after Minor). Also Parrish and Charles A. Walker, who rendered French landscapists or Mauve with fine adaptation to the original, though perhaps too strong a tendency to reproduce brush-marks rather than spirit. And Aug. Barry, who copied Charles H. Miller's Long Island landscapes with somewhat untutored force, and reproduced also Haden's *Breaking up of the Agamemnon.*

There is much undoubted ability represented in this list of names, and some that is quite remarkable. Even considering the output in its entirety, one is struck by the quick conquest of technique, the very respectable degree of attainment. Yet one feels that in some cases the task was approached a little too light-heartedly. The qualities demanded of a reproductive etcher form a combination not too common. To a knowledge of form and color he must add the ability to adapt himself with sympathy and understanding to the work which he is interpreting, and to choose and combine various elements in the same, not to speak of that most necessary factor, patience. It does not seem that all the men, nor perhaps the majority of them, had the necessary equipment for the work which the publishers led them to undertake. The glamor of etching caused the latter to have pictures etched instead of engraved, but the example of Smillie, Schoff and Smith shows that the engraver's training may be an important factor in the success of such work. The abuse of reproductive etching, it appears, grew so great that the New York Etching Club took steps to close its exhibitions to most of these productions.

Meanwhile, painter-etching languished. Koehler, as early as 1892, found that the various etching societies, organized with such enthusiasm, had been for years in a state of innocuous somnolence. And that condition of affairs cannot be laid altogether at the door of reproductive etching, for, after all, the two are, or should be, different in conception, execution and ultimate appeal. The urgency of publishers caused over-production, and turned legitimate interest into a fad. There came, also, a demand for elaboration, which, as Hitchcock said, "injured etching by blurring its legitimate characteristics." Effects of tonality were aimed at, in which the distinguishing characteristic of the etching, the line, was overlooked and lost sight of. Finally, the art was cheapened, commercial products—of course in "remarque" or "artist's" proofs—found their place on the "bargain counter." As Walter Aikman once said to me, the "dry-goods store etchings at 67 cents" did it, "printed by boys." Discredit was brought on the whole business, with the inevitable result.

When etching was on the wane, Koehler, Hitchcock, J. D. Smillie and Wray agreed, in their writings, that though commercially the fad was over, and production lessened, the average quality would be better. It would respond to a demand for, and understanding of, the personal force which makes a painter-etching what it is. That is, a distinct thing apart, with characteristics and qualities based on its very nature and therefore different from those in any other graphic art.

Line-engraving, wood-engraving and etching have little

vitality to-day as reproductive arts; the half-tone, the photogravure, the heliotype and the straight photograph serve to furnish us with mechanically effective copies of works of art. But the etching as a means of direct expression for the artist is coming to its own again.

CHAPTER II

ETCHING: THE PRESENT REVIVAL

In recent years, the appeal of the medium has again been heeded, the fascination of this art as a means of original creation has been appreciated by those of the younger generation. Classes sprang up under the guidance of J. D. Smillie and C. F. W. Mielatz at the National Academy, and of George Senseney and Charles Henry White at the Art Students' League, in New York City. Etchings have again formed a noteworthy addition to the American Water Color Society's annual shows. General exhibitions as well as single-artist shows have been arranged in increasing numbers by print departments of museums and libraries, and by print dealers, in various cities, and effort in the middle west has crystallized around the Chicago Society of Etchers, formed in 1910, and broadening into a national inclusiveness.

Yet despite all this activity, such a renaissance, by the very nature of the medium in which it finds expression, will come about quietly, unobtrusively. The movement is anything but startling or revolutionary. The spirit that is animating these younger disciples of needle and acid is that of pure etching, of the art with its advantages and limitations. In the best of this newer work the true nature of the medium is respected and is adapted

to each individuality,—a necessity in the practice of any art.

It is quite natural that in some of the earlier productions by these recent arrivals the influence of certain vigorous personalities in the annals of the art makes itself felt. So one may detect a reflection of Whistler, Meryon, Legros, Strang, Zorn or Helleu in the early work of some of our younger etchers. This personal bias is the almost inevitable outlet for individual temperament and point of view, which may at first attach itself to the prior expression which strikes the chord most sympathetic to it, until it finds itself, until the artist, passing through this transitory stage, attains his natural mode of expression.

Some of the younger etchers have worked abroad mainly, but not a few have found inspiration in their own land, seeking subjects in city and country, from Gloucester to San Francisco, and presenting them with more or less clearly individual point of view. Often, indeed, have they revealed to us new phases, different aspects, even the very essence, of things which we had seen unseeing.

Charles Henry White has again emphasized the old truth that there is beauty to be found in every-day surroundings and in our own land, and has set before us the picturesque qualities of street and alley, of waterfront and factory district, in New York, Boston, New Orleans, Pittsburgh and other American cities. Many of his etchings have been reproduced as illustrations for his humorous and sprightly papers on various phases of

city life, published in "Harper's Magazine." B. J. Olsson-Nordfeldt has offered clearly individual impressions of New York and particularly of Chicago. The titles of his *Chicago series* are an illuminating index to his preferences as to subject: *Grain Elevators, Smoke, Coal-chutes, Gas Tank Town, Bessemer Converters.* He has also rendered the spirit of Provincetown, whose whaling flavor likewise attracted young John C. Vondrous. Henry Winslow, while insisting less, perhaps, on the topography of the locality than some etchers of particular places, and more on a personal viewpoint, has also chosen scenes in New York and elsewhere in his native land.

In his *Norlands series* Cadwallader Washburn pictured the meadows, woods and streams of Maine in the spirit of loving intimacy with nature which, as he has written himself, was his from childhood; and J. André Smith has sketched the shores of the Hudson, a bridge in Connecticut, bits of Central Park, New York, *trains and apartment houses* in New York City, or a tree-lined brook in Long Island, getting his subjects as he goes, putting them on copper in a straightforward, natural manner, always with a personal touch and viewpoint that invests the simplest *motif,*—a bit of brookside with a tree or two and a little bridge beyond, —with the interest that always attaches to the expression of an outlook on nature worth considering. Furthermore, New York City has offered picturesque nooks and corners to H. Deville, H. H. Webster, W. J. Quinlan; Harlem River to H. H. Osgood; Cincinnati and New-

From "Harper's Magazine." Copyright 1906, by Harper & Brothers

A Bit of Mount Vernon St., Boston
Etching by Charles Henry White

port, Ky., to E. T. Hurley; Long Branch to A. T. Millar.

Pennell, long resident in England, has in recent years again exercised his mastery of the art in the delineation of the tall buildings of New York and the industrial establishments of Pittsburgh. And C. F. W. Mielatz, who was already identified with the earlier movement which found expression in the old New York Etching Club, is to-day in the maturity of his powers and is striking out into new fields, both in method and in choice of subject. Fertile in resources, of an experimentative spirit, this artist, *the* etcher par exemple of New York City, is finding new possibilities of effect, as in his recent delightful views at Lakewood. He is a prominent figure in the present revival, both by example and precept; as instructor in etching at the National Academy of Design he is the worthy successor of the late James D. Smillie. His art was considered by the present writer in the "International Studio" for September, 1911.

The appeal of a definite locality is not felt strongly in the delightful little landscapes of Alexander Schilling, which are of a suggestive impressionism akin to that of the etchings of Pissarro or Raffaelli. Thomas R. Manley, like C. A. Vanderhoof, who has in recent years shown work in soft ground, is interested in processes, and has brought new methods into play. So, too, Ozias Dodge combines sun-printing and the etching bath in producing plates with a freedom of effect and a softness of grain reminiscent of lithography.

In plates such as those by the artists named we find

much honest, and frequently successful, endeavor to show that subjects are at our door and to seize and present the character of locality as it appears to the personal viewpoint. Such art in its highest potentiality will be a reflection of American life and aims and progress, summarized by the artist's power of grasping and suggesting the prevailing spirit of time and place and people.

Among the figure etchers we not only find rather less of the feeling for the native soil, but they are very much fewer in number than the etchers of landscapes and city scenes. To mention Otto J. Schneider, John Sloan, Augustus Koopman, W. J. Glackens, A. Allen Lewis is almost to exhaust the list. Schneider's swing and easy mastery of line has produced direct and virile characterizations of notabilities: Lincoln, Emerson, Mark Twain. In contrast to these free and vigorous character studies are his graceful female portraits, with a suggestion of Helleu, but individual nevertheless. Their note of elegance finds an echo in the portraits by A. G. Learned, who made also one of J. W. Alexander, while A. Allen Lewis's work is of a sternness that recalls Legros in certain moods.

There is a certain kinship between Glackens and Sloan, both in sketchy, direct method and in the choice of subjects in lower life. Glackens has not gone beyond a few plates, while Sloan, beside a number of illustrations for an edition of Paul de Kock, has in a series of etchings illustrated certain aspects of lower life in New York. His quaintly humorous presentation of things as they

are, with just a suggestion of John Leech, points its moral quietly, with no trace of the bitterness of the over-zealous reformer.

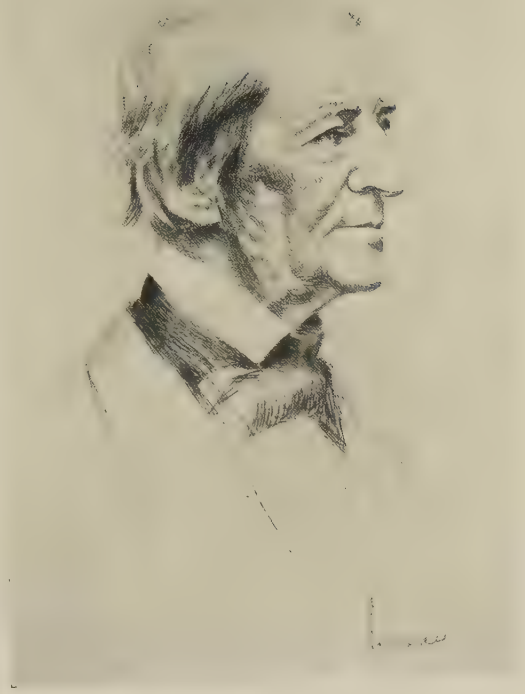
Some of these etchers have worked abroad as well. Olsson-Nordfeldt has etched Italian, Spanish and African series. Osgood has been occupied by Paris and London, André Smith by rural England, its cottages and farmyards. Winslow has gone to Paris, and Vondrous to Prague.

On the other hand, a noteworthy group of men has lived mostly or altogether abroad, working much under foreign influence (Meryon, for instance) and naturally choosing foreign subjects. Among them E. L. Warner, whose delicate sense of quaint old world beauties has found expression equally well on canvas and copper. The grocery, the side street, an old mill, at Montreuil-sur-Mer, have disclosed to him their hidden charm, and through him to us. Donald Shaw MacLaughlan, a Canadian, interprets locality in a personal manner which, as Wedmore has pointed out, calls for and repays the study of work which is neither eccentric nor commonplace. He has changed from the precision and elaboration of his earlier plates to the freer manner of his Thames and Venetian subjects. His *Lauterbrunnen* was found by one critic to be "one of the few pictures that realize the vastness of the mountains. . . . Space, sweep, grandeur, rudeness and power are found in this remarkable plate, which also is beautifully obedient to the canons of the art."

Herman A. Webster, delighting in out-of-the-way

quarters of old French towns with sun-baked walls and mysterious shadows in dark corners, has felt the compelling, stern charm of Meryon, yet goes his own way. In some of his plates, definite sureness of touch is linked with a certain severity, while in others there is a richness which in some original drawings becomes a lusciousness that makes one regret that he has not tried the lithographic crayon. Martin Hardie and F. J. Mather, Jr. ("Art and Progress," August, 1911), have written of his art. George C. Aid, attracted by the problem of sunlight simmering on hot stones and on vibrating water, has managed to offer five different impressions of the cool arches of the Pont Neuf in Paris (bridge ever dear to etchers) and the houses beyond, in the quivering light of a hot summer day, with difference of aspect and vision in each case. His *Location de Voitures à Bras* contrasts in its vigorous handling with the airy grace of the *Hotel de Cluny,* with its wistaria-crowned wall and the slate-covered sloping roofs beyond.

Where these artists, as well as Albert Worcester, who works with quiet effect and with sympathy, and others, have shown the structural aspect of Paris, it is the life of the city that has attracted Lester G. Hornby. The life and surroundings, figures not forming a mere staffage for the buildings, nor the latter solely a background for the figures, but all seen as parts of a picture of Paris in which houses and streets and people form a characteristic ensemble. Hornby's pictures, thus seen and rendered, in queer nooks and corners of Paris, breathe an air of unprejudiced observation, recorded with light yet precise



Ralph Waldo Emerson
Etching by Otto J. Schneider

Japanese Priest
Dry-point by Cadwallader Washburn

indication. That gives us such a delightful bit of alley life as *Passage de la petite Boucherie,* full of rich shadows and bright sunlight. He has printed some of his plates, especially those done in Tunis, in color.

George Senseney, who went to Paris a year or two ago, has been entirely devoted to etching in color, utilizing the suave qualities of soft-ground etching and the tonal effect of aquatint in his prints of a remarkable pictorial effect, the result of much experimenting and careful printing. " The Senseney prints," wrote J. G. Huneker, " attract you by their air of sweetness, their soft magnetism, their harmonious ensemble in tonalities." Vaughan Trowbridge also employed aquatint as a vehicle for color in his earlier prints.

All these artists have devoted themselves mainly to scenes in Paris and other parts of France, that apparently inexhaustible storehouse of attractive subjects. Others again have found satisfaction for their sense of the picturesque in Italy. G. Walter Chandler, with an evident liking for dark shadows, has found odd bits of architecture and life worth his while in Florence, Milan and Perugia. A covered archway, a dimly-lighted shop interior, women washing in the little stream flowing to the rear of their houses, dark arches of sunny bridges, such has he given us.

Both Florence and Venice have been pictured by Ernest D. Roth, usually with a careful adherence to detailed fact and the use of the line to render tones. While his method is in contrast to the suggestive summariness now in vogue, it gives a noteworthy personal impression of local spirit.

His art is understandingly and sympathetically analyzed by F. J. Mather, Jr., in the " Print Collector's Quarterly " for October, 1911.

Whistler's influence is apparent in the earlier Venetian plates of more than one artist following in the footsteps of Duveneck, Blum and Bacher. One who so began as a Whistler disciple is Cadwallader Washburn, who has found his subjects in Venice, Japan, Mexico and Maine, and has presented them with feeling for the charm of every-day nature and for the picturesque qualities of buildings. In his Mexican series he shows buildings varying, in their aspect, with place, time and conditions of lighting, drawn with synthetic definiteness and direct sureness. These architectural subjects probably mark his highest achievement at present, with the possible exception of some heads. In his delightful sketch of an old Japanese priest, printed on gray paper taken from a window of a temple, and later in his heads of Mexican peons, he has shown noteworthy ability to express his human sympathy for his fellow-man. Where Washburn was attracted by the gardens of Japan, or Chandler by the minarets of Benares, Addison T. Millar found food for both his artistic leanings and his experimentative nature in Algiers, ever dear to artists. Yet he turned easily from that land of sunshine to the grayer skies of Holland, finding at Laren in a lane of birches, or a farmhouse or some other simple *motif,* a subject sufficient to disengage an expression of mood, in harmony with the scene before him. Passing aspect or humor sometimes leads him to print a day and a night effect from the same plate.

That implies the well-understood manipulation of various rags, as well as other aids, in the process of wiping the plate after it has been inked and before the paper is laid upon it and run through the press. The use of "soft-ground etching" and other methods has been for him a further means of attaining desired effects.

Still other names come to mind: Augustus Koopman, Ernest Haskell, John Marin (delicate, hazy views of Venice and Amsterdam), R. F. Williams, Eugene Higgins, Charles K. Gleason, Newton A. Wells, professor at the University of Illinois; Champaign (said to have done charming and delicate small landscapes), Maud Hunt Squire (clever bits in few lines and flat tints of color), Will J. Quinlan, Arthur Covey. Furthermore, the catalogues of the exhibitions of the Chicago Society of Etchers, which have been held in Chicago, Worcester, Mass., St. Louis and elsewhere, include the names of Earl H. Reed, Walter Dean Goldbeck, Thomas W. and Helen B. Stevens (who did a series of universities and colleges), Mrs. Bertha E. Jaques, secretary of the Society, C. B. King, Katherine Kimball, Thomas R. Congdon, Ralph M. Pearson, Katherine Merrill, Francis Melville and others. Still farther west, from Colorado to the Pacific Coast, Will Sparks, Mrs. Marion Holden Pope, G. Piazzoni, George E. Burr and Helen Hyde are directing local interest to the charm of painter-etching ("Notable Western Etchers," by Sheldon Cheney, in "Sunset" for December, 1908).

This varied activity does not invariably represent work of the highest grade. Some of it is the result of an

enthusiasm expressed in amateurish ways. But one can record also that these ways, in some instances, are being mended. And there is enough in the general product of a sufficiently high order, there is a large enough proportion of etchers whose good intentions are backed up by an appreciable degree of ability, to make it possible to regard this recent movement with some degree of satisfaction.

There has been appreciation of some phases of this effort, as far as outward signs go. These younger men are being assiduously written up, their works are frequently exhibited, and one hears of some sales. "One man shows" at the galleries of dealers in New York and Chicago, and in museums and clubs in various cities, have been devoted to various ones of these etchers: Mielatz, Schilling, Hornby, Webster, Washburn, Haskell, Aid, Reed, Getchell, Hurley, Olsson-Nordfeldt, Deville, are a few that occur to me. And beside the magazine articles devoted to individual artists, similar studies, useful and well illustrated, have been issued in pamphlet form by print-sellers.

Widely differing individualities seek and find expression in this art of such extended possibilities, of such infinite suppleness, though so intimate in character. There is no violent novelty in the various personal phases of this movement, no obstreperous shriek, no blatant blare of revolt. Individuality finds expression, but finds it in accordance with the limits and possibilities of the medium, the tools and materials used in the production of the etching.

THE POE COTTAGE, FORDHAM, NEW YORK
Etching by C. F. W. Mielatz

The significance of this new movement lies in the spirit which pervades it. It is important because of the attitude of the men whose work constitutes its more important tangible results. This attitude, the only proper one in any form of art, finds technical expression for a realization of the possibilities of a medium combined with a given individuality. The medium, be it brush and canvas, chisel and stone, burin and wood block, or needle and copper-plate, has its possibilities and its limits, both of which must be clearly understood to produce the best results, results to which the nature of the medium gives its characteristic flavor. Respect for the medium does not imply hampering of individuality, but simply its orderly expression. Submission to the necessities imposed by the tool is no more a curb on genius than the grammar of a language. Genius will mold the method to its manner. And it is the very diversity of personal expression in this language of needle and acid that increases the attractiveness of this phase of American art. The charm of the best of these etchings lies in their intimacy of expression and in the possibility of intimate relation between the etcher and the beholder.

Etching is not an art of big effects, of striking appeal to the great mass. It is not a question here, as it may be in painting, of "keying up" to counteract the effect of adjacent pictures at an exhibition. Etching is eminently a "painter art," reproducing a given design in a number of prints of which each is essentially the artist's work. Particularly is this latter the case if the artist is his own printer, as Whistler was, as Pennell is, and

Mielatz, MacLaughlan, White and many others. It forms an immediate, direct medium for the expression of the more intimate phases of artistic personality. It is based on precise delicacy, not on broad impressions, yet its strength lies in summariness, in compressed statement and not in abundant detail. It is an art of suggestion, of selection. If comparisons and analogies were not so generally futile, one might say that an exhibition of etchings fills in art somewhat the function of chamber music concerts in the sister art.

It is these facts which make the present revival of interest in etching more than a passing fad, which make it a hopeful sign, a possible factor of decided importance in the future development of American art.

CHAPTER III

ENGRAVING IN LINE AND STIPPLE: THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY

THE history of graphic art in America, as a matter of home production, before the Revolution, is not extensive, and naturally so. A young people in the process of wresting its existence from nature, gaining a foothold in a new land and gradually growing into a new national life, had no time for the cultivation of the fine arts. Any satisfaction of esthetic wants had to come mainly through such works of art or illustrated books as reached here from Europe.

During the period of discovery and settlement, in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, the literature published in Europe concerning the new continent included a few illustrated books. The illustrations by Jacques Le Moyne for his "Narratio" of the expedition sent to Florida in 1564 under Jean Ribaut and by John White for the account of Raleigh's Virginia venture of 1585-86 (both issued by DeBry), the plates in Champlain's "Voyages," John Smith's "General History of Virginia" (1624), and Du Creux's "Historiæ Canadensis" (1664) comprise practically all there was of contemporary illustrated books relating to this country and its aborigines.

As settlements grew up and expanded, views of the same were prepared in Europe. Particularly was this bound to be the case, of course, with larger communities such as Boston or New York. Of the latter, for example, there exists an interesting series of views. The earliest, published in "Beschrijvinghe van Virginia, Neuw Nederlandt [etc.]," by Joost Hartgers, in 1651, shows the city about 1630. Then come the Visscher (about 1652), Montanus (1671), and Allard (1673) views, the "South East" and "South West" views by Canot after Howdell (1768), and so on to 1800, duly listed and described in W. L. Andrews's books "The Iconography of the Battery and Castle Garden" (1901), "Journey of the Iconophiles around New York in search of the Historical and Picturesque" (1897), "New Amsterdam, New Orange and New York: a chronologically arranged Account of engraved Views of New York City" (1897) and "New York as Washington knew it after the Revolution," and the forthcoming work by I. N. Phelps Stokes. As native artists and engravers began to unfold a more extended activity in this field, the time between the publication of these succeeding views of New York City grew gradually less, until the nineteenth century saw a steady flow of them even before the advent of the camera which records the kaleidoscopic rapidity of change caused by the rapid disappearance of old buildings,—and of newer ones, too, for that matter—and the erection of higher ones. Foreign and American prints are listed to comparatively recent date in the catalogues of the exhibitions of New York City views at the Grolier Club

(1907) and at the New York Public Library (1901 and 1909). A most remarkable exhibit of early and rare views of the metropolis was held at the last-named institution in 1912.

As one passes in mental review others of the early settlements there come to view such prints issued abroad as those of "Charlestown, S. C." (1739), published by B. Roberts and W. H. Toms; Charlestown, Mass. (1776); or the rare one of Savannah in 1734, by P. Fourdrinier.

During the pre-Revolutionary period it was in the field of applied art, through the wants of the home, that American art first effected accomplishment worthy of record. That is seen in our silverware, described by R. T. Haines Halsey; from those who produced it there came also our earliest engravings on metal. From the first copper-plate engraver in the Colonies known to us by name, John Conny or Cony, who was working as early as 1700, it was the silversmiths who were among the earliest to apply the ability gained in engraving on their productions, to the supplying of such line-engravings as the needs of the hour justified. Not a few of these men advertised as engravers on gold, silver, copper, steel, brass and pewter, attacking various metals and problems with the assurance of necessity. Henry Pursell, for example, was ready (1775) to do "crests, . . . door-plates, dog collars, etc." Francis Dewing, who came from England in 1716, announced of himself: "he likewise cuts neatly in wood and printeth calicoes." And Rollinson is "credited with having ornamented the silver

buttons on the coat worn by Washington at his inauguration as president."

"The scarcity of metallic money among the early Colonists, and the necessary issue of a paper currency to meet this condition," says Stauffer, "probably created the first serious demand for the work of a copper-plate engraver." John Conny or Cony, who did Massachusetts bills of credit in 1702-3, and possibly those of 1690, is the earliest known producer of plates for paper money, the forerunner of the able craftsmen who in the nineteenth century developed the art of bank-note engraving to a remarkably high degree of mechanical perfection. Among the eighteenth century engravers of money were also Thomas Sparrow, who signed plates for Maryland issues in 1770-74, and Abner Reed, who was engaged in engraving bills near the end of the century (1792).

Portraiture answered a natural want, and the first native production on copper in this specialty, as far as known, is a copy of an English engraving of the Rev. Increase Mather, "little more than scratched upon copper" in 1701 by Thomas Emmes of Boston, and published in Boston in the same year as a frontispiece to a sermon ("The Blessed Hope, etc.") by Mather. Later engravers attacked the problem with more vigor, perhaps, but not much more art. Portraits such as that of Isaac Watts by James Turner (Boston, 1746), hard as a nail, exemplify a style of work, labored in its anxious and helpless striving to gain an effect without sufficient skill. Those characteristics one may find even much later,—say in the portrait of Washington, with snake and the

motto " Don't tread on me," by Buxton, in " A poetical Epistle to His Excellency George Washington " (Providence, 1781). This plate was copied from the one by William Sharp, the noted English engraver, in the London (1780) edition of the book. Even at the very end of the century one finds, as in the work of Smither or James Allen (who did a primitive Bonaparte in 1792), a helplessness that is almost touching instead of laughable.

The need of maps and the interest in views seem fairly natural. Francis Dewing's plan of Boston (1722), from a drawing by Capt. John Bonner, is presumably the earliest one on copper made in this country. And in Cadwallader Colden's " Papers relating to the Indian trade," published by Bradford in New York in 1724, there appears a map of the Five Indian Nations (taking in the Province of New York and a little more), which Mr. Wilberforce Eames thinks was undoubtedly done in New York, and is probably the first one executed in the middle colonies. Others who met the need for maps were Abel Buell, Thomas Johnston (plan of Boston, published by Burgis in 1729), James Turner, M. G. de Bruls (Niagara, 1759), Bernard Romans and William Barker.

Famous among the early views is the *South Prospect of the City of New York* (1717) of William Burgis, probably, as W. L. Andrews says, the first view engraved in America. In the only known copy, in the New York Historical Society, the engraver's name is torn off, but Stauffer notes that a restrike (1746) is signed *I. Harris Sc.,* and he believes that Burgis simply published this and other plates (some of which are signed by known engravers),

his mezzotint view of Boston Light House being the only engraving signed by Burgis which he has seen. The Burgis view of New York was often copied or adapted, wholly or in part, by various engravers in succeeding years,—through the nineteenth century—particularly that portion showing the site of the later Fulton Ferry in Brooklyn. The name of Burgis as publisher appears also on a picture of Harvard College (*A Prospect of the Colledges in Cambridge in New England*), and on one of the New Dutch Church in New York City. Still other views may serve to indicate gradual increase of home production in this field in pre-Revolutionary days. There were the *South East View of Boston* (1743), published by William Price; James Turner's view of Boston, with some Indian scenes below ("American Magazine," Boston, 1744); *Perspective View of the Pennsylvania Hospital* (1761),—selling for "1 shilling plain and 2 colored,"—by James Claypoole, Jr.; *A South East Prospect of Pennsylvania Hospital,* by J. Steeper and H. Dawkins, after Montgomery and Winters (1775); *North West Prospect of Nassau Hall . . ., N. J.,* by H. Dawkins after W. Tennant and others, coarse work and thin.

But there was other opportunity also for the engravers, book-plates to be done, and business cards (that by Henry Dawkins for Benj. Harbeson quite brave in elaboration of the Chippendale style), billheads, certificates of membership (e.g., Revere's certificate of enlistment in His Majesty's North Battery, Boston, of which there are a number of restrikes). Also printers' ornaments, such as the coat of arms of William Penn engraved by James

Turner, presumably on type-metal, for the title of the "Philadelphia Gazette" (1767), or the type-metal vignette for the "Pennsylvania Magazine" (1775), by J. Smither. Sheet music, too; by Thomas Johnston, Henry Dawkins ("Urania," a music book, 1761), John Norman (1781), or Isaac Sanford (1783), both title and music being usually engraved by the same hand.

Such incidental productions, then, were executed by Nathaniel Morse, Thomas Johnston, James Turner, Elisha Gallaudet, James Claypoole, Jr., Henry Dawkins, Nathaniel Hurd, Robert Aitken, John Steeper. Likewise by those who take us more definitely into Revolutionary and post-Revolutionary days: A. Billings, Abraham Godwin, Bernard Romans, James Smither, John Norman, Benjamin Jones, Paul Revere, Abernethie, N. Dearborn, Joseph Callender, Amos Doolittle, Joseph Bowes, N. Hurd, Robert Scot. And by those whose activity reached well into the following century (in which even A. B. Durand did not disdain to engrave tickets of admission to balls, and like things): William Hamlin, James Poupard, Ralph Rawdon, John Vallance, Peter Rushton Maverick and his son Peter, the latter's card significantly advertising "a general graphic business."

A number of the early engravers are represented, mostly by portraits, by reproductions given in David McNeely Stauffer's "American Engravers upon Copper and Steel," a monumental work of painstaking care. The book was issued in 1907 by the Grolier Club, which in the following year held an exhibition of "Early American Engraving upon Copper." A similar exhibition was held by the

Boston Museum in December, 1904—February, 1905 ("Descriptive Catalogue of an Exhibition of Early Engraving in America"). There are various special studies, too, such as Samuel Abbott Green's "Ten Fac-simile Reproductions relating to Old Boston and Neighborhood" (1901) and "Ten Fac-simile Reproductions relating to various Subjects" (1903), and the volumes on Revolutionary portraiture and New York views by W. L. Andrews. And in individual cases research has resulted in monographs or shorter papers such as those on John Norman by C. H. Hart ("Some Notes concerning John Norman," Cambridge, 1904) and S. A. Green ("Remarks on the Boston Magazine . . . and John Norman, Engraver," Cambridge, 1904), and on Revere by W. L. Andrews ("Paul Revere and his Engraving," New York, 1901). In 1912 the American Antiquarian Society held an exhibition of engravings by Revere, mostly from its own collection; a list, prepared by the librarian, Clarence S. Brigham, was published in the "Boston Transcript" of January 17, 1912.

The hardness and crudeness of the early prints are more apparent, perhaps, in portraits than elsewhere, but they characterize our eighteenth century work generally. Well into the nineteenth century, in fact, our art was essentially provincial, much of it a reflection, often quite weak, of European models. The many names recorded by Stauffer and others are not infrequently offered in a tone of kindly indulgence or frank apology. Grace and elegance were quite lacking, and if, around the turn of the century, a little more suavity and richness is occa-

sionally met with, it is probably the result of increasing technical ability to copy with more justice to the original, and it appears, moreover, particularly in the more easily mastered stipple manner.

"Many of the early portraits which illustrate this crucial period of our history," says W. L. Andrews (in his "Essay on the Portraiture of the American Revolutionary War," New York, 1896), "are so coarse and crude in design and execution that by means of their very grotesqueness they exercise a certain weird fascination on the collector." Occasionally one comes across contemporary acknowledgment of insufficiency. Publishers or editors of publications, even as late as the second decade of the nineteenth century, ask the indulgence of their readers, usually on the plea that the illustrations presented are by native talent,—appealing for aid to an infant native industry, as it were. For example, the advertisement of a Bible published by Isaiah Thomas at Worcester in 1791, and for which Joseph H. Seymour did thirty-two engravings, reads: "These plates were engraved . . . in this town in 1791 . . . and the Editor doubts not but a proper allowance will be made for work engraved by an Artist who obtained his knowledge in this country, compared with that done by European engravers who have settled in the United States." On the other hand, the work produced by our native engravers was not invariably accepted uncritically. Norman's plates in the "Impartial History" (Boston, 1781-82; original English edition, 1780) met with a scathing criticism from the "Freeman's Journal" (Philadelphia), January 26,

1795. The portraits of Knox, Samuel Adams and Green were named as particularly bad, with the comment, "Surely such extraordinary figures are not intended to give the rising generation an improved taste in the arts of design and sculpture." The prints in this American edition of this book are not, apparently, always copied from those in the English one, and even when so copied, there may be changes in detail, as in the full-length Washington, on which Norman has put a different head and in a different position. But one does not feel inclined to trust them very much more, as portraits, than those made farther away from the scene of action. W. L. Andrews, who cites the above-mentioned proof of contemporary appreciation of the badness of not a little of the engraving of the day, adds his own testimony to the effect that Norman's portraits of General and Mrs. Washington (Boston, 1782), rare prints by the way, are "atrociously bad" and rival the Doolittle battle-pieces in that respect. As a collector, however, Mr. Andrews does not reject that of which he disapproves from the artistic standpoint. We others may join him in open-eyed realization of the faults of much of this early work without on that account either lessening our patriotico-sentimental affection for it or having any fear of lowering its price in the collector's market. In fact, before these early attempts on copper the esthetic sense has not so much to say. They appeal to us because they bear the very imprint of those days of gradual formation which preceded the final consummation of our recognized nationality. It is human activity, more than art, that speaks to us from these weak efforts

to give our scattered population something like the pictorial art found in the home lands of Europe.

Collections of Americana will inevitably include many European prints, for example among the portraits of Washington, Franklin and John Paul Jones. Not infrequently these show lack of the knowledge of and sympathy for the subject necessary to characteristic portraiture, but technically they usually contrast strongly with our home product.

Through the Revolution and its after results the American colonists were naturally thrown more on their own resources. Furthermore, they did things that made history and that called for illustration of events and portraits of chief actors. The inevitable consequence was that a group of national engravers arose,—it would hardly do to call it a school, though it showed a certain originality in its mingled vigor and weakness, mediocre conventionality and fresh outlook.

In the first place, to carry on the war, money was needed, and examination of examples of the paper currency of that time is interesting occupation. Some of it is partly engraved and partly printed; or, again, the border may be a composite affair of type-metal ornaments and symbols strung together. A piece of Massachusetts Bay currency of 1779, showing the pine tree in the upper left corner, and with the date put on with a stamp printing white on black (!), is lettered at the bottom: "death to counterfeit," recalling the severe English law under which W. W. Ryland, the stipple engraver, went to the gallows at Tyburn as late as 1783. We, too, had counter-

feiters in Colonial days. Abel Buell (who subsequently worked for the government), Joseph Billings (1770), Henry Dawkins and Richard Brunton (1799: he forms the subject of a pamphlet by A. C. Bates) are among the engravers credited with taking advantage of the ease with which our early notes could be forged. The Revolution brought us our first historical prints, because, indeed, there were events to picture. The *Boston Massacre* (1770), a hand-colored engraving by Revere, is a famous and rare old print, seldom enough seen but known through reproductions and through the engraved copy executed in 1908 by Sidney L. Smith. About 1880, Mr. Stauffer tells me, the Revere family had Daniels of Boston strike off a few impressions without the inscription. And W. L. Andrews notes several contemporary copies of the print, in England and America. In a letter from Henry Pelham (see "Bibliographer" for March, 1902), Revere is charged with having copied Pelham's engraving of the massacre. No such print is known to exist, but we are told that "several water-color copies of the massacre have been preserved, which are exactly the same in design as the Revere plate, but much superior to it in the details." Previously, in 1768, Revere had done two views of Boston of which one is on copper (existing in colored impressions and in restrikes, without inscription) and the other on wood or type-metal, showing the landing of British troops. In the "Royal American Magazine" for January, 1774, there appeared a small copy of this view, with the title *View of the Town of Boston with several Ships of War in the Harbour.*

Line Engraving on Copper by Paul Revere

This portrait, supposed to exist, had not been seen by D. M. Stauffer and other authorities, until an impression came to light quite recently in the New York Public Library. It is reproduced here for the first time.

Though crude enough, the *Massacre* seems rather better in execution than the set of four plates by Amos Doolittle (re-engraved in our day by S. L. Smith) from drawings by Ralph Earle, picturing the engagements at Concord and Lexington, also colored by hand, the work of the burin crude, the drawing touchingly helpless. But they speak to us with rough eloquence of times of action through brain and brawn. Despite their faults they, like Revere's *Massacre,* are cherished as are the incunabula of wood-engraving. One of the four, the *Battle of Lexington,* was re-engraved on a smaller scale by A. Doolittle and J. W. Barber in 1832. And the set was reproduced, from uncolored impressions, in a small quarto issued in Boston (1883) with text by Edward G. Porter, and from colored ones in a folio (1875) embodying Jonas Clark's narrative of the transactions of April 19, 1775.

The Battle of Lexington was illustrated again, much later (1798), by Tiebout in an engraving after Tisdale, also to be seen in color. And it will of course be remembered that Trumbull executed a painting of the affair at Bunker Hill; it was reproduced on two plates in John Norman's largest engraving, and more than once in the nineteenth century.

A few months before the Doolittle prints there had appeared Romans's *Exact View of the late Battle at Charlestown* (Philadelphia, 1775). This print of the Battle of Bunker Hill,—which appeared also in London the following year, much better engraved according to Stauffer—was re-engraved on a smaller scale by Robert

Aitken in a fearful and wonderful engraving (*Correct View, etc.*) with cannon drawn on the school-boy principle of two parallel lines with an oval at each end. Two farther interesting illustrations of events in the war, both *N. G. Inv.* and engraved by John Norman, appeared as frontispieces to two books published remarkably soon after the occurrences to which they related. The first, in "The Battle of Bunker's Hill. By a gentleman of Massachusetts" (Philadelphia, 1776), depicts *The Death of Gen. Warren,* crudely, yet with rough dramatic vigor. The other, *Death of Montgomery,* in the pamphlet of the same name (Philadelphia, 1777), is a bit more theatrical, perhaps, in its strong contrasts of light and shade, but looks surer in drawing, as in the foreshortening of the two men on the ground.

Edward Savage's large *Signing the Declaration of Independence,* in line and stipple, remained unfinished; C. H. Hart devoted a pamphlet to this print (1905). It opened the drama which had its last act in the event pictured in Tanner's engraving of *The Surrender of Cornwallis at Yorktown,* from a drawing by J. F. Renault. J. F. Renault did also a *Triumph of Liberty, Engraved by P. C. Verger* (1796), issued in France, with about as much truth to facts as in the Yorktown design. And, adhering to chronological sequence, Amos Doolittle's *Federal Hall* (1790), from a drawing by Peter Lacour ("the only contemporary view of the inauguration of Washington"), and *View of the Triumphal Arch and Colonnade, erected in Boston, in Honor of the President,* 1789, mark the inauguration of a new era. Not a few

of the engravers of these earlier plates lived well into the nineteenth century, a period in which a plentiful number of engraved illustrations of stirring Revolutionary scenes saw the light.

War maps and plans, of a timely interest equally obvious, were furnished during the conflict by Bernard Romans, Robert Aitken (who copied Romans's "Map of the Seat of War") and John Norman (Boston, all three) and Abernethie (Charleston, 1785). J. Smither did a map of Rhode Island. Portraiture was bound to develop. The Revolutionary heroes, who by word and deed helped to knit the bonds of national interest, and those who continued the work in the following constructive period, were depicted for public edification with despatch, if not always with neatness. Revere, Dearborn, Doolittle and others put their gravers—one can hardly say their art—at the service of demand and supplied pictures which have already been sufficiently characterized in the quotation from W. L. Andrews's book on the portraiture of the war. As recollection of these old prints is awakened, one is tempted to cite instances: portraits of Samuel Adams by Revere and Okey, of John Hancock by Revere, of various generals and statesmen by John Norman. But Stauffer has listed them all, and to him the reader must go for details.

As affairs became more settled, and more opportunity was offered for the cultivation of the arts of peace, there came about increasing proficiency in the handling of the engraver's tools. There resulted also revision of early impressions; prominent Americans roughly portrayed were

again presented, with more art. They were repeatedly pictured in certain cases, particularly Franklin (list issued by the New York Public Library in 1906), Jefferson and Lafayette, but none to anything like the same extent as Washington. It seemed to be the ambition of almost every portrait engraver of those and later days to produce at least one counterfeit presentment of the Father of his Country; more than one engraver had each several Washington portraits to his credit. Washington portraiture has a little literature of its own,—by W. S. Baker, E. B. Johnston and others,—culminating in Charles Henry Hart's "Catalogue of the Engraved Portraits of Washington" (1904), published by the Grolier Club, with 880 different portraits listed.

The foreign element in this country had its part in preserving for future generations the features of those who were prominent in directing the fortunes of the young nation. Du Simitière (whose portraits, says W. L. Andrews, are poor, though "taken from life,"—they were engraved by B. L. Prevost, Paris) and St. Memin (dealt with in the chapter on aquatint) left particularly many records of the lineaments of those on whom the light of publicity fell in those days.

But abroad, also, events in our land attracted attention, and portraits were produced that bore more or less—often less—resemblance to the originals. Franklin could at least be drawn from the life by the French—*vide* Duplessis and Cochin—and his face became familiar throughout the land whose inhabitants he had quite captured by his personality. But by the time Cochin's im-

pression of him had reached Germany, it could hardly be recognized in the traduction of J. C. Haid's mezzotint, with a rather Teutonic aspect, as we may find it also in some portraits of Washington, or, later, of Lincoln. Not only were some foreign artists influenced by the types around them, but the demand for portraiture occasionally resulted in "truly exhaustive efforts of the artist's imagination," as W. L. Andrews characterized John Michael Probst's conceptions of Charles Lee and Putnam. Such fabrications have their notes of gaiety: so in a sober, quite Hollandish, bearded "W. Pen," in a book of travels in the United States, published in Utrecht in the seventeenth century, or in Chapman's bust, in stipple, of Washington, with side whiskers, which is simply his portrait of Capt. R. K. Porter, R. N., with the name changed.

But the imaginary portrait—call it "fake," if you will —was not unknown in those days in our own land, either. The origin of Revere's "Col. Benjamin Church" (1772) is quite evident when you see it side by side with the portrait of C. Churchill from Smollett's "History of England" (1758-65). His full-length of King Philip, as Andrews points out, has not even that basis of fact, but is "evolved entirely from his own consciousness." The full-length Washington (possibly by John Norman, thinks C. H. Hart), "in Roman dress as ordered by Congress for the monument to be erected in Philadelphia," was transformed from that of Sir William de la More, in full coat of mail. One can continue this paragraph on un-authenticity to much later dates, to include, for instance, the Franklin bust portrait, of the Wilson type,

engraved by F. Halpin, which, despite its evidently eighteenth century garb, did duty as a picture of Roger Williams. Necessity of quick production gave rise to the expedient of taking out the head on an already engraved plate and substituting another. Stauffer has pointed out that the James Madison signed *Bona del Parte sculp* is Akin's portrait of Benjamin Rush, with head and signature changed. And A. H. Ritchie's full-length portrait of Abraham Lincoln was originally one of Calhoun. H. B. Hall, by the way, substituted a line-engraved bust portrait of Lincoln in an oval frame in an old stipple engraving, representing Diogenes leaning over the frame:

> " Diogenes his lantern needs no more,
> An honest man is found!—the search is o'er."

Still quicker results could be attained by changing only the name of the personage; so Michele Pekenino, an engraver reconstructed by Stauffer, produced a portrait of Bolivar by changing the lettering on his head of A. B. Durand. And the portrait of *James Arlington Bennet, LL.D., at 30,* by Story and Atwood after J. Neagle, appears also with Bennet's name replaced by that of *Aesop.* A collector with an eye for humor has united in one frame five eighteenth century woodcuts, each representing the profile of a gentleman in a three-cornered hat. The only appreciable difference is in the names, which are: Richard Howel, Samuel Adams, Henry Lee, Bradley (Governor of Rhode Island) and Columbus. But " a portrait's a portrait, although there's nothing in it," and the enter-

prising publisher runs in a portrait of "Hendryk" Hudson, or some equally doubtful one, adding the glamor of research among pictorial documents by using the impressive caption "from an old print," a description used impartially for one two centuries old, or only fifty years.

Possibly the greater facility with which stipple could be executed, as compared with line-engraving, had something to do with the fact that it is in stipple that some of the first portraits of technical merit were produced. The first one of real account by an American-born professional engraver was the work of Cornelius Tiebout, as is pointed out by Stauffer, who adds that Peale and Savage, though they had issued earlier portraits, were painters who did some occasional portraits rather than engravers by profession. The portrait by Tiebout referred to was that of Jay, published in 1795 in London, where Tiebout had gone to study. One of his best is the large half-length of William White, D.D., after Stuart, the face well modeled though pale. In the one of Simon Snyder this paleness becomes colorlessness, a characterization which will apply to much of the stipple work of this and of later times. Tiebout himself did sufficient work of this thin quality. His memorial design of Washington on a pedestal, with Bowling-Green, New York City, in the background, after Buxton (1798), which exists in an impression on satin, was done in line, in which manner he had worked before taking up stipple, and had executed a plan of New York for the directory of that city for 1787.

Edward Savage, painter, engraver, publisher ("A

Tribute to the Memory of Edward Savage," by Thomas C. Reed, Schenectady, 1840), used stipple with a certain vigor. His portrait of Franklin (bespectacled and reading), after Martin, seems better in drawing and modeling—perhaps because not designed by himself—than his bourgeois-like Washington or the well-known *Washington and His Family.* His small bust portrait of Washington (1792) after his own painting, and reproduced in Andrews's book on Revolutionary portraiture, shows remarkably minute stippling in the face. It is almost entirely dotted, with a modicum of line work on coat and wig; an honest, careful job. His paintings were occasionally engraved by others; Tanner did a Washington in stipple, and David Edwin his *Landing of Columbus,* published by Savage in 1800. J. W. Jarvis began as an engraver with Savage, and in a bitter attack, quoted in S. Isham's history of American painting, denied his master's authorship of the engravings issued under his name. But Dunlap's similar statement that Savage could not engrave and that his apprentice David Edwin really did the work, was emphatically denied by W. S. Baker in his "American Engravers and their Works" (1875) and by C. H. Hart (in a paper presented to the Massachusetts Historical Society).

It is said, by the way, that when Edwin came to Philadelphia in 1797 he found difficulty from the want of the necessary tools and a proper press. Edwin became "one of the most prolific and popular portrait engravers of the period." Hart places him above Bartolozzi, as "superior in manner," and contemporary criticism

("Port-Folio," October, 1810, p. 329) said of his quite indifferent "Maternal affection," a little mother-and-child *genre,* "his copy, both for spirit and elegance, unquestionably transcends the British original." His plates, listed in Mantle Fielding's "Catalogue of the engraved work of David Edwin" (1905), show marked ability and facility. Exigencies of production may have resulted in not a few portraits which do not rise much above the average of, say, Chapman in England. But his work always shows skill, and includes such dignified and able performances as the large portraits of James Madison and Thomas McKean (1803, particularly good), after Stuart, or the Alexander I, of the smaller size of the majority of his portraits, and with the delicacy of a miniature. He did a number of plates after Stuart, of whose friendship, we are told, he was exceedingly proud.

So the use of stipple increased; its free effect, less formal than that of the line-engraving, and a pleasing softness appropriate especially in the treatment of the face, were elements to commend it. A number of our engravers, some of them better known by their line work, practised the dotting art more or less: Doolittle (whose Alexander I is perhaps the best portrait he ever did), Thomas Clarke (who did an indifferent Lafayette), John Galland, John James Barralet (whose designs were often engraved by others), W. S. Leney (who had studied with P. W. Tomkins in England), Alexander Anderson (who executed a thin but not bad military portrait after Jarvis), Rollinson (portrait of Washington), Abner Reed, Ben-

jamin Tanner, the Mavericks, Elkanah Tisdale and John Scoles. Two Englishmen who worked here for a while were H. Houston and Robert Field. Houston drew and engraved a rather stiff half-length of John Adams, and engraved a bust of J. P. Kemble (1796), after "Steward," quite juicy in effect.

There was some little use of stipple also in landscape work. Examples of this are Tiebout's *The Cascade, Luzerne County, Pa.*, poor enough, and his *Cottage Scene,* a good-sized plate after W. Bigg.

Edwin, Tiebout and others reach actively well into the nineteenth century, which was to see a general quick and very considerable advance technically and perhaps some loss of immediateness, of the freshness and roughness of attack born of ignorance of methods or helplessness.

Stipple was to be much used for magazine illustration, a field in which line-engraving had already been employed to some extent. A few references to this latter use in Revolutionary days have been made. Among the periodicals which offered some opportunity to our line-engravers were: "Royal American Magazine" (Boston: Revere, Callender); "Pennsylvania Magazine" (Robert Aitken, Poupard); "Boston Magazine" (J. Norman); "Columbian Magazine" (Philadelphia: J. Trenchard); "Massachusetts Magazine" (Boston: Samuel Hill); "New York Magazine" (Scoles); "American Universal Magazine" (Philadelphia: Houston, Smithers, Bowes, Harrison, Thomas Clarke). The interested reader is referred to P. L. Ford's "Check List of American Magazines published in the Eighteenth Century"

(Brooklyn, 1889), and, for lists of portraits published in these magazines, as well as in books both American and foreign, to W. L. Andrews's work on Revolutionary portraiture. During the war, a considerable proportion of the plates in these magazines naturally related to the conflict: plans, views, battle scenes, portraits of commanders predominated.

With the advent of peace and of national development there came increasing cultivation of art and consequently increasing production of books with illustrations. There had been the occasional portrait or map in a volume—our earliest engraved portrait was so issued, as we have seen, engraved as well as the early artificers knew, for better, for worse,—practically always for worse. Direct book-illustration with copper-plate engravings had also begun, not always with happiest results, as we have seen in the case of Norman, who, by the way, did also a frontispiece and fifteen plates for the Fables of Æsop by Robert Dodsley (Philadelphia: Robert Bell, 1777). Now, more systematic and extended illustration was attempted. David Longworth of New York brought out an edition of Telemachus with plates by Thomas Clarke, Scoles engraved a frontispiece, sufficiently hard, after Tisdale, and there were other evidences of this increased activity. This found an outlet especially in editions of the Bible, recorded in E. B. O'Callaghan's "List of Editions of the Holy Scriptures . . . printed in America previous to 1860." There was the one published in 1791 by Isaiah Thomas, with thirty-two plates by J. H. Seymour, and Brown's Bible, brought out in 1792 with en-

gravings by Tiebout, Maverick, Doolittle, Rollinson, A. Godwin, and Collins's Quarto Bible, of which the second edition appeared in 1807. The publication of cyclopedias began, too, calling for much illustration,—for instance, Dobson's edition of Rees' Encyclopædia (1794-1803). And with such undertakings, extending by their dates of issue into the nineteenth century, we pass out of the eighteenth into the hopes and aims and achievements of a new period.

CHAPTER IV

LINE AND STIPPLE IN THE NINETEENTH CENTURY

In the new century there came a marked increase in the number of engravers, together with a noteworthy advance in technical ability. Two important factors in the development of engraving were the demand for magazine and book illustration and the need of well-executed bank-notes. Such work gave occupation to our engravers and brought increase to their numbers. Periodicals such as the "Polyanthos" (Boston), "Port-Folio," "The Analectic," Delaplaine's "Emporium of Arts and Sciences" (Philadelphia) and the "Rhode Island Literary Repository," all issued between 1800 and 1820, laid some stress on the portraits and views by Edwin, Hamlin, T. Gimbrede, S. Harris, Snyder and others, which they offered their readers. From the technical standpoint, one may run with some satisfaction through the files of the "Port-Folio," for example, and note the increased assurance and skill with which the artists handled their tools, particularly in the production of portraits after Stuart, Wood and others. Stipple was the medium usually chosen for the latter. Previously, in such dotted portraits as those of Wayne by Harris and again by Tanner, and of S. Adams by Tanner, the pale gray, somewhat washed-out effect reminds one a little of the colorless, anemic,

very early German lithographs—"Polyautographs." Now, the paleness of the earlier work had given way to more vigorous and varied handling, giving richer effect without loss of delicacy. See, for example, the stipple portraits in Delaplaine's "Repository of the Lives and Portraits of distinguished American Characters" (Philadelphia, 1815), by Edwin Boyd, Longacre, W. S. Leney (a smooth, dexterous worker), W. R. Jones, Goodman & Piggot and J. Heath. In not a few cases during this period, indeed, this new force runs to a heavy black, almost as colorless as the washed-out gray of the preceding period. But this tendency to black, again, may rise to a richness that is of a resounding sonority in J. B. Longacre's large portrait of Andrew Jackson, after Sully. That work of individuality and distinction is executed with a force and breadth in accord with the size of the plate.

Longacre, who later became engraver to the U. S. Mint, managed to get some color and life into even his least important portraits; his small *Alexander Macomb* after Sully is quite delightful in its easy flow and unctuousness. He had a noteworthy part in raising the standard of engraving in this country. In connection with James Herring he undertook the publication of "The National Portrait Gallery of distinguished Americans" (New York, 1834-39, 4 volumes), a collection of portraits with biographical sketches. It is said that the standard of excellence for the engravings was set so high that after employing the best engravers in the country, others had to be brought over from Europe. It was good stipple work that this venture brought forth, showing practical

ANDREW JACKSON
After Sully. Stipple engraving by J. B. Longacre

craftsmanship, and characterized by a certain vigor. A number of the plates were by Longacre himself (some after his own drawings from life), others by T. B. Welch, George Parker, Prud'homme, E. Wellmore, W. A. Wilmer, I. B. Forrest, J. Gross, etc. Other engravers, including not a few workers in line, were identified with this art of the dot during 1800-1840: W. Haines, Abel Bowen, C. Gobrecht, Thomas Gimbrede and his son J. N. Gimbrede, J. R. Smith, George Graham, Joseph Cone, John Vallance, John Boyd, Bridport and W. R. Jones.

Not all the work was good; in fact as late as 1812 one may come across portraits such as those by John Eckstein in which to helplessness before the copper-plate there is added the aggravating provincial assurance of the insufficiently equipped designer (Eckstein himself). But on the whole, as already indicated, these stipple engravers worked with an increased ability and discrimination, and in certain instances they were apparently spurred on to better efforts by the merits of the original which they copied. Hence their work varied, and from the mass of smoothly executed stipple plates there stand out various portraits. Thomas Gimbrede's *James Monroe* after *I. Van Der Lyn,* Vallance's *Hugh Blair,* Bridport's luscious *Conwell* and Boyd's strong and broad *John Fennell* after Wood are in each case probably the best portrait by the respective engraver. Smith's *James Bowdoin* has both delicacy and swing, and his portraits of Commodores Rodgers and Bainbridge show grasp of character. There is a certain delicacy in Cone's miniature *A. H. Judson,* and color and *verve* in *Philip Tidyman* after Sully by

T. B. Welch and A. B. Walter. And the last-named painter's *D. D. Tompkins* is well caught, in the suave sweep of the modeling in the face, by Jones.

There was some use of stipple also for views and historical pieces, say G. G. Smith's *U. S. Squadron under Commodore Bainbridge returning triumphant from the Mediterranean in 1815,* designed by J. B. Fanning, or William Birch's small views of *The Country Seats of the United States.* In the last, stipple and line are combined, and hand-coloring farther serves to smooth over things. Birch's *Views of Philadelphia* had come out in 1798-1800, and before that he had done, while still in England (1789), such a dainty little plate as *A View from Mr. Cosway's Breakfast Room.* The last-named was in almost pure stipple, but usually, in landscapes and figure pieces, the line entered more or less to re-enforce the dots, —although Tiebout did without such aid in his wooden *The Cascade, Luzerne Co., Pa.* In portraiture, stipple undefiled was nearly always used for faces and backgrounds, and sometimes even for the whole plate, as one may see in some by Longacre, Welch (*Franklin*), W. A. Wilmer, or Prud'homme (*Henry Lee*) in the Longacre-Herring "Portrait Gallery." And even the use of the line, particularly for the clothes, in the hands of certain men lost some of the insistence which others gave it.

This did not remain so, however. The softer effect of dots—etched, dry-pointed or flicked with the graver —in engraving the faces of portraits, appreciated quite early in the history of engraving, was utilized in our

country, too. John Norman had begun to apply a mixture of graver-work and stipple in his portraits of Revolutionary heroes. So, with Revere (in the rare portrait of Jonathan Mayhew), Poupard and others, he foreshadowed the "mixed manner" which in the middle of the nineteenth century degenerated into the production of a characterless, machine-made sauce, in which certain engravers served all their portraits in the same spice-less manner. One may study this as early as 1853-54 in John Livingston's "Portraits of Eminent Americans" with plates by various engravers. There is one by Frederick Halpin, for instance, with the face in stipple, the hair in line, the coat rouletted and the background ruled. Yet Halpin could do portraits as good as that of J. F. Kensett after George H. Baker; he had not only a distinctive manner but a manner of a certain distinction.

Meanwhile, the art of line-engraving had likewise been developed. There was still some of the occasional work—cards, certificates and what not—at which we found the eighteenth century engravers busy. William Main, a pupil of Morghen (whose *Last Supper* after Da Vinci inspired Kearny, J. B. Neagle, Pease and Burt each to attempt the same subject), said in a letter to Dunlap that most of his early engraving was of "visiting cards, door plates and dog collars." One may come across such pieces as an advertising view of a hotel in Augusta (1822) by Neagle after Shaw, or a card for Clark & Raymond's "fashionable hat store," New York, after J. R. Smith by P. Maverick, who applied cupids to commercial needs in his cards for A. Maverick and for Boureau & Co.'s

jewelry and hardware store. Thackara, Hamlin and others found similar employment. Here, too, may be noted P. Maverick's card for Columbia College Commencement, 1822. Maverick's own announcement, by the way, issued from 149 Broadway, includes engraving, copper-plate printing, lithography; and *bank-notes engraved on copper or steel, with all the variety of die work and machine facilities now in use.*

Book-illustration in line increased. Various editions of the Bible were brought out,—Collins's Quarto, and Brown's, and the Carey Bibles, during 1790-1815—with plates by Doolittle, Anderson, Rollinson, P. R. Maverick, Tisdale, Tanner and Tiebout, representing about the worst of which those engravers were capable. Very much better in their way and for their purpose were the numerous illustrations in science, natural history and useful arts, pictures of instruments, mechanical contrivances and what not, which appeared in those important and voluminous undertakings, the American edition of Rees' Encyclopædia (Philadelphia: Dobson, 1794-1803) and the Philadelphia edition (1806-13) of the Edinburgh Encyclopædia.

There was, of course, no particular opportunity in these encyclopedias for any display of artistic qualities. But no doubt it meant, not only bread and butter, but good practice for the engravers engaged in the work. And these latter included practically all the American line-engravers of any note in those days: Fairman, Akin, Scot, Allardice, Exilious, Edwin, C. G. Childs, S. Seymour, J. H. Seymour, Gobrecht, A. Lawson, D. Haines, R.

Campbell, Tiebout, Tanner, Thackara, Longacre, Kearny, Kneass, Vallance, Anderson and even William Charles (who did two plates in soft-ground etching).

More latitude would naturally be offered in illustrations for works of *belles-lettres,* and these, too, increased and improved; the improvement relative, of course. One does not find a Moreau here, nor even a Chodowiecki. When designer and engraver were both of native origin in the earlier days, one might look for results such as those in a scene from "The Contrast," by P. Maverick, *W. Dunlap inv. et del.,* fearful to behold, in design and execution. Compared with that, E. Tisdale's designs for the poetical works of John Trumbull (Hartford, 1820), engraved by W. H. Bassett and Tisdale himself, though not remarkable productions, show at least more ease. And designers and engravers improved in time. In the early decades of the century, line-plates in books were engraved, frequently after English originals for American reprints, by Joseph H. Seymour (Hayley's "Triumph of Temper"), Scot and Allardice (Campbell's edition of Hume's History of England), Rollinson (a quite graceful title-page for a Horace of 1830), Gideon Fairman (vignettes for title-pages; he designed also for other engravers), C. G. Childs (plates after Inman for "The Spy," Philadelphia, 1822-24; after Stothard for "Heart of Midlothian"), J. B. Neagle after W. M. Craig and English designers, and Tanner after Corbould. P. Maverick did illustrations after Thurston, Stothard, Corbould, Burney and Westall, for "Lalla Rookh," "Sentimental Journey," "Tristram Shandy," and Hayley's

"Triumphs of Temper," New York, 1809. In the last, the little engravings are scattered through the text, an unusual matter. Alexander Lawson engraved illustrations after J. J. Barralet, and did plates for Alexander Wilson's work of ornithology. A paper on Lawson by Townsend Ward was read before the Pennsylvania Historical Society in 1878, and it appears that "a considerable collection" of his engravings is in the Academy of Natural Sciences, Philadelphia.

The frequent occurrence of the names of English designers in this list indicates, of course, that the engravings were copied from the English originals in the books for the American reprints of which they were prepared. Tiebout similarly did, in stipple, illustrations to Cowper and other authors after such English artists as Smirke.

Then, in the late twenties and in the thirties, there were the neatly engraved little views of New York City (published by Bourne, 1831) after C. Burton, by Fenner & Sears, W. D. Smith, Gimber, Hatch & Smillie and H. Fossette (who also engraved after his own designs); after A. I. Stansbury by Rawdon, Clark & Co. (1828) or Danforth; after J. H. Dakin by Barnard & Dick. Later came such publications as Hinton's "History and Topography of the United States" (Boston, 1834) with illustrations, generally drawn by American artists, and most of them engraved by John Archer.

In the early days of the century, there naturally fell to the engraver also the illustration of important current events. In our age of the camera, daily happenings are chronicled pictorially with an easy copiousness that gives

a momentary importance to innumerable persons, things or occurrences with which the old-time engravers could not have occupied their burins. They recorded such matters of moment as particularly interested, or deeply stirred, their contemporaries. For instance, the landing of Lafayette, pictured by Samuel Maverick (1824, published by Imbert), or the launch of the steam frigate Fulton, by Tanner (1815) after a drawing by Barralet. The War of 1812 naturally called forth graven records of victories on land and sea. Tanner seems to have been particularly busy in depicting naval actions. He glorified Perry's victory on Lake Erie, 1813, *J. J. Barralet delt.* (1815), and Macdonough's on Lake Champlain, 1814, *H. Reinagle pinxt* (1816), and pictured United States and Macedonia, *T. Birch pinxt* (1813). Two views of the Battle of Lake Erie, by Sully and Kearny, were engraved by Murray, Draper, Fairman & Co., and Thomas Birch's painting of Perry's victory was reproduced by A. Lawson.

The growing country was to be pictured, too, both in its urban aspects and in its natural beauties and wonders. Previously, in the last dozen years of the eighteenth century, the production of views had already begun to increase. S. Hill, for instance, drew and engraved a view of Cambridge for the "Massachusetts Magazine" and one of the seat of John Hancock for the same publication (1789). Similarly, in the "New York Magazine," we find views by Tiebout: Trinity Church, after I. Anderson (1790), Columbia College after I. Anderson and Richmond Hill (1790). The Mavericks and Birch were

also working before 1800, and after that date the younger Maverick did some creditable little views after W. G. Wall (*New York City, from New Jersey* existing in at least three states), Alexander Robertson and Inman. Like Birch, Cephas G. Childs published a set of views of Philadelphia (1827-30), most of them engraved by himself, and John Exilious had engraved from his own drawing a large view of the Pennsylvania Hospital. Just a few instances these, representing a respectable amount of production.

The Philadelphia "Port Folio," edited by "Oliver Oldschool," occasionally published line-engraved views, and in running through the volumes of that old periodical one may stop to note with amusement that when the picture of the Catskills, with a steamboat in the foreground (by Hewitt after J. Glennie), was changed by taking the sail off the boat, the engraver, in the hurry of a "rush order," or perhaps solely through carelessness, omitted to remove the reflection of the sail in the water.

In the twenties Hill and Bennett were doing their large aquatint views, and in the forties and fifties came the large views such as the ones of New York City from the Latting Observatory (1855) by W. Wellstood after B. E. Smith.

If such views met the demands of an interest in locality, we find also engravings which mirror the growing attention paid by American painters to landscape. This is felt in such an early production as *The American Landscape,* engraved by A. B. Durand, which did not live beyond the six plates of No. 1 (1830). It appears notably

in the large plates after Thomas Cole's series of paintings, *The Voyage of Life,* by James Smillie, our most able landscape engraver. This growing appreciation of the landscape *per se* is reflected also in smaller plates by Hinshelwood and others after Huntington, J. W. Casilear (himself, like the painters Durand, Kensett, Nathaniel Jocelyn, J. A. Oertel and Shirlaw, originally an engraver), James M. and W. Hart, Jervis McEntee, W. L. Sonntag, D. Johnson, S. R. Gifford, A. D. Shattuck and A. Bierstadt. The want of any geographical label in Doughty's *Mountain Stream* (reproduced in a mechanical but fairly delicate little plate by J. B. Neagle) is not quite typical of all this, however. The topographical feeling was naturally still strong in much of this work, the exact reproduction of the definite locality. It is very easy to have a fling at the "Hudson River School." The time was not ripe then for the painting of the landscape for the sake of the mood it inspires. (Easily enough may that mood to-day become the mannered duplicate or triplicate or quadruplicate of a condition of the soul experienced long since.) Yet one gets the impression from these paintings, and from the well-executed plates which perpetuate them, that in many cases the painters honestly loved their subjects. Durand painted his tree-trunks, for instance, with understanding and sympathy. And it was not only the large and pretentiously impressive scenes *à la* Church or Cole that were painted. The same Durand who depicted the "White Mountain Scenery: Franconia Notch," panoramic in its comprehensiveness, did also the cool, restful wood interior, of intimate charm, which for

years hung opposite to it in the old Lenox Library Building in New York City. These painters found beauty in their home land, and told their compatriots of it, and the message was spread farther by the engravers who reproduced their works.

Some of the latest products of this spirit are found in the clear-cut, if not remarkable, plates in "The National Gallery of American Landscape" (New York: W. Pate & Co.) by J. D. Smillie, Pease, H. S. Beckwith, Wellstood, Hinshelwood and others, the last two mentioned, together with S. V. Hunt and others, being engaged also in somewhat thinner work for "Picturesque America" (New York, 1874) after Bierstadt, Church, Bellows and Kensett.

But the last was a chronological divagation, and returning to mid-century there are found freshness and immediateness of view also in the figure paintings of the time, by W. S. Mount, F. W. Edmonds, R. Caton Woodville, W. Ranney *et al.* These were done with a healthy interest in the daily life and home doings of the small man of the street and the country in the East, the flatboatman of the Ohio, the pioneers and trappers of the West. The line-engravings in which these works were reproduced served a distinct and educational purpose in bringing before a larger public a knowledge of paintings, of the progress of American art, and of the spirit that actuated it.

The beauties of our land,—both in its wilder aspects and in the calmer beauty of rural scenery in the more closely inhabited East;—scenes in our national history;

the life of the Indian and the trapper; the farmer at work and at play, driving a horse trade, whittling a stick, or listening to "Old Dan Tucker" or some other popular air of the day scraped by a fiddler of local reputation, such aspects of our life and surroundings were brought before our public both in smaller engravings and in the large framing prints so popular then. There were reproduced, in small and large plates, such paintings as W. S. Mount's *Swapping Horses* (engraved by Joseph Andrews, 1839), *The Raffle, The Painter's Study* (engraved by A. Lawson), *Long Island Farmer* (engraved by Hinshelwood), *The Tough Story, The Rabbit Trap* and *The disagreeable Surprise* (the last three engraved by J. I. Pease); H. Inman's *Mumble the Peg;* J. G. Clonney's *Militia Training* (engraved by J. I. Pease); J. L. Krimmel's *Election Day in Philadelphia,* by Lawson; and W. Ranney's *The Trapper's last Shot* (engraved by T. D. Booth, of Cincinnati). The very titles indicate the assiduous cultivation of an American *genre,* in place of the sweetly sentimental variety once fostered in engravings such as those by E. Gallaudet. These painters did, according to their light, practise the principle preached in "Faust," "Grasp the exhaustless life that all men live." And when arguments against the "anecdotal *genre*" are exhausted, the question remains: was not this home product preferable to the weak sentimentality—"once removed," or twice, or thrice, from original sources—of certain souls expatriated in fact or in mood, whose foreign scenery or Italian shepherd boys are weak reconstructions on old recipes?

Good work was done in the large framing prints. Alfred Jones engraved *Farmer's Nooning* ("Apollo Association," 1843) after W. S. Mount, *Sparking* (1844) and *The New Scholar* (1850), both after F. W. Edmonds, and *Mexican News* (1851) after R. C. Woodville. Woodville's *Old '76 and young '48* was put into black-and-white by J. I. Pease. Ranney's *Duck Shooting,* R. C. Woodville's *Card Players* (1850) and Mount's *Bargaining for a Horse* (1851) were reproduced by Charles Burt, a catalogue of whose work, by Alice Burt, was printed in New York in 1893. All of these were issued as premiums by the American Art Union, which flourished particularly in the forties and fifties and had its "Bulletin" in which were published reduced copies of these engravings as incentives to subscription. Similar associations were the Art Union of Philadelphia and the Western Art Union. It is recorded also that the Western Methodist Book Concern, "by its publication of good engravings, exercised a decided influence on public taste in that section of the country." This Western firm employed William Wellstood, who also reproduced American paintings.

Mount's work, as is seen, was much reproduced; even Léon Noël, the French lithographer, did on stone his *Power of Music* (1848) and *Music is Contagious* (1849).

Inevitably, weak and colorless paintings were also engraved, illustrating no national spirit or characteristics, examples of fatuous story-telling art.

In plates of the character of those which have been mentioned, what there was of dignity or raciness or hu-

mor in the appeal of American painters on the ground of such national beauty or interest as it was given to them to see, was transmitted to wider circles than the paintings alone would have reached. To us, to-day, these plates are not only reproductions of the works of painters of a bygone day, but decidedly interesting records of the costume and customs, the mental and moral viewpoint of our people at that time.

Furthermore, striking scenes in our history were seized by painters and re-told by the graver: *Plymouth Rock* (1869) by Joseph Andrews and *Patrick Henry delivering his celebrated Speech in the House of Burgesses, Virginia, 1765* by Alfred Jones (1852), both after P. F. Rothermel; *Capture of André* after Durand, *figures engraved by Jones, landscape by Smillie and Hinshelwood* (1845); *Marion crossing the Pedee* after W. Ranney (1851), by Burt; *Washington at Valley Forge* by E. S. Best, and *Franklin before the Lords in Council* by Robert Whitechurch, both after Schussele. *Lady Washington's Reception Day* after Huntington and *On the March to the Sea* after Darley (of which latter an interesting "touched" copy from Darley's collection can be seen in the New York print room) were both engraved by A. H. Ritchie (who sometimes worked also after his own design, as in the *Death of Lincoln*). These examples are not by any means all cited as particularly remarkable engravings, but rather as indications of the taste of the time and the tasks it set our engravers.

Of course, the artists of those days did not limit their activities to American subjects. The historical *genre* was

cultivated. Leutze painted *The Image Breakers,* engraved by Jones (1850; won high praise), and *Sir Walter Raleigh parting with his Wife* by Burt (1846). Among the paintings of J. W. Glass is the *Standard Bearer,* and among those of Daniel Huntington *The Signing of the Death Warrant of Lady Jane Grey* by Burt (1848). Shakespeare inspired effort (*Anne Page, Slender and Shallow* by Burt, 1850, after Leslie). The gorgeousness of tropical scenery was depicted by F. E. Church. The Bible story was told and the moral lesson inculcated (D. Huntington), the pictorial allegory was represented by Thomas Cole's two series, *Voyage of Life* engraved by Smillie, and "Course of Empire." And in the realm of the ideal there is to be recorded, primarily, the noble translation of John Vanderlyn's *Ariadne,* done in 1835 by A. B. Durand, who was particularly successful in his rendering of flesh. Koehler described this *Ariadne* as "the largest plate of such high, artistic achievement that ever appeared in America, of a purity and grace of graver-work in the figure of Ariadne—the landscape is mainly in etching—that need fear no comparison. This was Durand's last plate; he laid down the graver to take up the brush. The results of fifteen years' work as an engraver—his first important production having been the *Declaration of Independence* (1820) after Trumbull—are listed in the "Catalogue" issued by the Grolier Club in 1895. His "Life" (1894) was written by his son John.

Our engravers, by the way, cut some figure in the art world in the first half of the last century, if we may

ARIADNE
Line-engraving, from a Painting by John Vanderlyn, by A. B. Durand

judge from the records of the National Academy of Design. A number of them were members, and some founders, of that body: P. Maverick, M. J. Danforth, Durand, W. J. Bennett, W. Main, C. C. Wright, J. A. Adams, J. W. Paradise, Prud'homme, S. W. Cheney, Alfred Jones, James Smillie, A. H. Ritchie, dates of election running from 1826 to 1871.

Meanwhile, during all these years, the demand and supply for and of portraits increased enormously, and the field was soon left mainly to line-engraving. The use of stipple waned and appeared at most in the machine-made effect of the "mixed manner" in the sixties and seventies, in which etching, graver-work, machine-ruling, stipple, rouletting, mezzotint and what not were pressed into service to get quick and smooth results.

Delaplaine's "Repository" (1815), beside its stipple portraits, had had others in line by G. Fairman, Maverick and Neagle. Longacre and Herring's "Portrait Gallery" was also varied by the inclusion of line portraits, particularly by A. B. Durand, a master in portraiture, but also by R. W. Dodson (his *Simon Kenton* to be noted) and T. Kelly, both with a skilful use of line, and J. W. Paradise, among others. The younger Maverick, Peter, is well known by name, but not a little of his portrait work is indifferent, without color or life. However, he could do as good a job as his *Cervantes* in line, or his comparatively rich little stipple portrait of *Oliver Ellsworth* after Trumbull. Kelly did much "shopwork," but could rise to the delicacy of his *J. R. Drake* after Rodgers (1820) and the force of his *N. Chapman, M. D.*, after

Neagle. W. Hoogland was perhaps at his best in his *W. E. Channing.* R. W. Dodson did indeed produce for "Graham's Magazine" a group of female contributors which merited the sarcasm of Frances Sargent Osgood's "Lines to Mr. Dodson," reprinted in Brooklyn in 1885 by the "Elzevir Press" (P. L. Ford!). But he has a number of good and quite rich plates to his credit, Richard *Dale, Gen. Jonathan Williams* and *Alex. V. Griswold.* Like Kelly he used long sweeping curves of line as we see them in Durand's plates. M. J. Danforth is an example of a trifle more conventional craftsmanship and less art, although before his Irving after Leslie (the portrait with the fur collar, so often engraved) one almost forgets that. J. W. Steel similarly emulated the fluency of lines of a Durand. In his *Commodore James Barron,* the linear curves accent the rotund and genial robustness of the subject; the delicate *John Vaughan* after Sully is one of his best. Joseph Andrews was best known by his portraits,—S. R. Koehler spoke of the "tenderness" of the one of Amos Lawrence after Harding; his fur-collar *Franklin,* after Duplessis, which he engraved in France, is familiar, and *J. Q. Adams,* after Healy, is a good example. Koehler read the biographical memoir at the memorial meeting held by the Boston Art Club in honor of Andrews in 1873 ("Report of Proceedings," Boston, 1873). Charles Burt, too, executed a number of portraits, those of Washington, A. B. Durand and Carlyle having been pronounced "admirable examples of a combination of line work with etching."

A striking characteristic of the nineteenth century work

is the attainment of a comparatively high general level of technical proficiency, of mechanical dexterity, rising in various cases to a remarkable command of the medium.

It is perhaps not entirely without interest that a number of our engravers, including some of the most noted, were either self-educated, like James Smillie, or at least began their careers without instruction or tools, even if they were regularly apprenticed afterward. William Rollinson, a "chaser of fancy buttons," did a small stipple portrait of Washington in 1791 without previous knowledge. Joseph Ives Pease made his first attempts with an old awl on a bit of thermometer brass, the printing being done on a roll press invented by himself. Alexander Anderson, who engraved first in copper, and did a good if conventional *St. John* after Domenichino, and a quite delicate portrait of John Carroll of Baltimore in line and stipple, learned the process, as a boy, from an encyclopedia. He had a silversmith roll out some copper pennies, and experimented with a "graver made of the back-spring of a pocket-knife," printing on a rude rolling press which he constructed; later, he got a blacksmith to make him some tools. A. B. Durand's first efforts were made with tools of his own manufacture, on plates hammered out from copper coins. Gideon Fairman also began with tools of his own construction. John Cheney attempted engraving "without other instruction than that offered by books and the examination of such prints as came under his notice," making his own tools and hammering plates from the pieces of an old copper boiler.

A potent factor in the technical development of our line-engravers on copper, in those days, appears in the demand for bank-note work. From Revolutionary times on, this response to economic needs enlisted the services of our engravers. Increased production brought systematization of work, labor saving devices and contrivances intended to make counterfeiting more difficult. The traditional inventive genius of the American came into play, personified in Wm. Rollinson, John James Barralet, Jacob Perkins, Henry Tanner, J. G. Wellstood (founded the Columbia Bank Note Co. in 1871), James Bogardus, Cyrus Durand (not an engraver), W. L. Ormsby ("Description of the present System of Bank Note Engraving . . .; added, A new Method . . . to prevent Forgery," New York, 1852). They fathered ingenious inventions or improvements,—lathes, ruling machines, transfer machines tending to make the work more mechanical. Jacob Perkins not only in 1810 devised means for substituting steel plates for copper, thus prolonging the life of the plate, but introduced the use of die plates. By this new method, instead of engraving the whole note on one plate, various portions of the design were engraved on separate plates. From these they were transferred to a decarbonized steel cylinder by means of the transfer press. The cylinder, with the design thus appearing on it in relief, was then hardened again, and could be used any number of times for transferring the design to plates to be used for various bank-notes. In 1818, Perkins and others went to England to compete for a prize offered for a method of preventing

counterfeiting. Subsequently, with Charles Heath, the firm of Perkins and Heath was formed to exploit the "Patent Hardened Steel Process."

In those days of State paper money, bank-note establishments arose in various parts of the country, and furnished employment to practically all our line-engravers during the first half of the nineteenth century. The direct connection of certain engravers with the management of such companies is indicated by firm names such as Durand & Co.; Durand, Perkins & Co.; Tanner, Vallance, Kearny & Co.; Danforth, Perkins & Co.; Murray, Draper, Fairman & Co.; Casilear, Durand, Burton and Edmunds; Rawdon, Wright, Hatch & Smillie, and many more. Absorption of firms resulted in 1858 in the formation of the American Bank Note Co., and there were later ones, such as the Homer-Lee Bank-Note Co. Robert Noxon Toppan, in his "A hundred Years of Bank Note Engraving in the United States" (New York, 1790), records these facts and more. The interested student of dates will find the years when these various firms were founded set down in a pamphlet (1897) by Joseph Willcox on "The Willcox Paper Mill, 1729-1866." A complete record is in preparation for the American Bank Note Co.

"By the middle of the century," says Stauffer, "American bank-note engraving had become deservedly famous throughout the world; much work was done for foreign governments, and in this class of work our engravers are still pre-eminent." While the exigencies of this work helped to develop craftsmanship, its influence on the whole

promoted smooth dexterity and finesse rather than richness or delicacy. The Declaration of Independence, with a pictorial border, engraved in 1840, in a space of ¾ x 1½ inches, issued by the American Bank Note Co., is typical, in a measure. The use of mechanical devices such as the ruling machine (to which, the late J. D. Smillie once told me, he attached a clock-work to rule certain portions of the plate during the night, while he slept), would not have a tendency to promote fredoom of handling, especially on the part of less vigorous and capable artistic personalities.

But on the other hand one must recognize the fact that the public was at least served with good drawing and clean engraving in the vignettes on its bank-notes. Among the designers of these there were capable artists. Durand, for instance, ninety of whose original drawings for such vignettes were presented to the New York Public Library by his son John. Or William Croome. And that interesting figure among our illustrators, F. O. C. Darley, among whose bank-note drawings were a number for the Japanese government. Likewise Walter Shirlaw, whose decorative breadth was used to good effect. Moreover, these vignettes were engraved with a certain richness of line, expressed not only with delicate incisiveness, but also with boldness and a certain bigness,—as in the work of Alfred Jones. This free handling of the tool was often in refreshing contrast to the lathework or other machine-made production of the rest of the bill. And if the deadening effect of bank-note engraving is deplored, it must also be remembered that it gave em-

ployment to the best of our engravers. Durand and Smillie and Jones have been noted. And there was Smillie's son, James D., and J. W. Casilear, whose *Sibyl* after Huntington was quite Durand-like in its beauty of line. And William Edgar Marshall, whose large portraits of Washington, Lincoln (at whose features probably every later nineteenth century engraver of any note had his try), Grant, Longfellow, Cooper, usually from his own paintings, were famous in their time. Burt, too, and Hinshelwood and others.

Worthy of special note also is Stephen A. Schoff, A.N.A., who could engrave in the regulation, formal style, as he showed in *Marius on the Ruins of Carthage* (Apollo Association, 1842) after Vanderlyn. That, according to Stauffer, he considered his best plate. But in a moonlight marine after M. F. H. De Haas, a portrait of Emerson after S. W. Rowse, and particularly in *Bathing Boys* after W. M. Hunt, he varies the line with a freedom and spirit akin to that of the "new school" of wood-engravers in this country. In the plate after Hunt, especially, the craftsman's delight in clean-cut sweeping curves, or in the masterly employment of recognized conventions to express various textures, did not find expression. The line was broken and twisted to translate tones and color-values and even brush-marks. Yet the hand that produced this plate, almost a tour de force, could also rival the Turner engravers of Rogers' Italy in the delicate minuteness of *Bay of New York* after George Loring Brown, engraved for the "Ladies' Repository."

Line-engraving had its day as a medium for book-

illustration. But the results arouse rather mixed feelings. Such plates as had appeared in eighteenth century magazines, poor as they were, had at least a certain rough energy, and for us they have the antiquarian interest and the glamor of sentiment which age adds to such productions. And some of the earlier nineteenth century plates by the younger Maverick and others, or those after Burton, have been noted earlier in this chapter.

Magazine illustrations had shared in the general improvement. The "New York Mirror," in the thirties and forties, published a number of creditable views in the metropolis and elsewhere, from drawings by A. J. Davis, R. W. Weir and others, of interest also to the student of life in those days. A little later, "Ladies' Companion," "Ladies' Repository" (Cincinnati), "Columbian Magazine," "Graham's Magazine," "Evergreen," "Ladies' National Magazine" are among the names met with on engravings. But the illustrations vary in merit. There is little that is worse, in the forties and fifties of this century than the plates in certain magazines of the "Graham's" and "Godey's Lady's Book" type. One may instance, in "Godey's," title designs by W. E. Tucker, and illustrations engraved by the Illmans and others, weak and inane. Surely W. S. Baker, in his pioneer undertaking, "American Engravers and their Works" (1875), strained amiable tolerance when he asserted that Tucker's "plates are well engraved, and in fine taste, particularly the border and flower work furnished for magazines." From such disheartening work, even the insipid, becurled beauties of the annuals, the

"keepsakes" and "gift books" stand out favorably by very contrast. There is a fascination about these old favorites, "elegant ornaments of the drawing-room table" (as one advertisement puts it), in their bindings with blind and gilt tooling of a style quite their own. You almost forget the artistic shortcomings of many of their illustrations as you handle them. They are so evidently characteristic of the period, a period that offered such incongruities as these sentimental offerings and an uncouth vigor which, despite all caricaturing, surely must have been, if ever so vaguely, mirrored by Mrs. Trollope and Dickens. It was characteristic of this period that a young German lady, coming over here in the fifties, had to accustom herself to the, to her amusing, spectacle of a gentleman in a high pot hat, wearing a flowered vest, in shirt-sleeves, soberly sweeping the sidewalk before his doorstep or going marketing with a basket hanging from his arm. And as for that, you may see the late Gen. Thomas F. DeVoe, in exactly the same garb, with smartly trimmed side whiskers, deftly cutting off a prime rib for a customer at his stand in Washington Market,—so pictured in a steel engraving by R. Hinshelwood, colored, which forms the frontispiece to his "Market Assistant" (1867).

During about 1830-60 "Affection's Gift," "Amaranth," "Baltimore Book," "Atlantic Souvenir," "The Gift," "The Hyacinth," "Lady's Album," "Moss Rose," "Rose of Sharon," "Opal," "Pearl," "Token," "Lady's Cabinet Album," and numerous other annuals published, beside much poor stuff, some most pleasing

examples of pure line work. These came from the gravers of Durand, Cheney, Andrews, Smillie, or such lesser lights as Danforth, Prud'homme, Balch, J. B. Neagle, Edward Gallaudet, G. B. Ellis, after paintings or drawings by Allston, Cole, Leslie, Doughty, G. L. Brown, Chapman,—all Americans. Repeatedly does Stauffer note that some given engraver's best work is to be found in these annuals. There were many inanely simpering, doll-like damsels in these publications, but from among them John Cheney's female heads (and male portraits, too, for the matter of that) speak to us of a refined taste. Dignity there is in his work, restraint, gentility, some conventionality, but also delicacy, and in *Guardian Angels,* after Reynolds, for instance, even a certain richness. "The best engraver of the female head in America," Baker called him. Ednah D. Cheney issued a "Life" of him in 1889, and one of his brother Seth Wells in 1881. S. R. Koehler brought out a "Catalogue of the engraved and lithographic Work" of the brothers in 1891, and the Boston Museum held an exhibition of their work two years later.

The vogue of the gift book extended to descriptions of locality, such as W. C. Richards' "Georgia illustrated in a Series of Views engraved on Steel by Rawdon, Wright, Hatch & Smillie, from Sketches made expressly for this work by T. A. Richards" (1842). It produced even a quarto apiece, in 1847, devoted to Mount Auburn and Greenwood cemeteries, respectively. Yet these two last-named include good landscapes, all drawn by James Smillie and in part engraved by him, "in highly finished

line engraving." They, like all of Smillie's work, are of a certain distinction; he stood at the head of the profession in the specialty of landscape. "After 1861," wrote his son James D. to me in 1888, "he gave all his time to engraving bank-note vignettes, excepting 1864, when he engraved his magnum opus 'The Rocky Mountains' after A. Bierstadt."

Less distinguished, often very much less, are the numerous plates published in books of travel in the forties. These plates are often found separated from the volumes to which they belong, to swell the collections of those interested in views of special localities, or to grace the productions of the extra-illustrator. The name of William Henry Bartlett, the English illustrator, is a familiar one in this field. His drawings, reproduced in plates by English engravers, were copied by Americans, in some cases more than once.

Interesting, as home productions, are the illustrations of T. H. Matteson (the painter of *The First Prayer in Congress,* engraved by H. S. Sadd) engraved by Milo Osborne and others. James Hamilton, the Philadelphia marine painter, also did some book designs. Matteson had a certain facility which to a greater degree characterized Darley. The latter's vignette illustrations for Cooper and Dickens were cleanly and understandingly reproduced by J. D. Smillie, Hinshelwood, Hollyer, A. V. Baulch, Schoff, C. Rost and others. They remain the most pleasing and satisfactory examples of the employment of steel-engraving for book-illustration.

About 1860 there set in the beginning of the period

of rank commercialism. Craftsmen such as Henry Bryan Hall, J. C. Buttre, H. Wright Smith, nimble manipulators of the tools of their art, and others less skilful, fairly flooded the land with portraits of the great and the less great, demand for likenesses of Civil War heroes increasing the number. Line plates such as those in Duyckinck's "National Portrait Gallery of Eminent Americans" (1862), executed after full-length paintings by Alonzo Chappel, make the stipple work in the Herring and Longacre "Portrait Gallery" appear even richer by contrast. At best, there is nothing in the general run of this work of 1860-80 beyond a superficial technical facility. In the case of Hall, extensive use of etching gave an appearance of freedom to his numerous portraits of men prominent in the American Revolution, most of them based on originals by Trumbull and others. A number of these were private plates, a selection of which, collected into a volume by Dr. T. A. Emmet, show the plates in various states. There are several of Washington, for example, in trial proofs not listed in C. H. Hart's monumental catalogue (Nos. 120, 268, 704). The volume is in the New York Public Library, where are also a number of impressions of other plates by Hall, corrected in wash, so-called "touched" proofs.

But there were others who had not the facility of these men, others whose work, thin, colorless, anemic, and in its poorest form of an absolutely machine-made character, graces a certain type of town or county history or collective biography, a cheap decoy for the local magnate of plethoric pocketbook or the wealthy relative to launch

the genealogy. As a study of the wide difference even in mere craftsmanship, the proficiency in handling the graver and controlling the sweeps of its strokes, one has but to compare the best work of this period with the ordinary run of portraits by Durand or with the bold curves of the head of Cadwalader D. Colden, after Waldo and Jewett, by Peter Maverick and Durand & Co.

Commercialism is indicated in a measure also by the publishing activity of certain engravers,—J. C. Buttre (catalogue of the J. C. Buttre Co., issued as late as 1894) and others. Still, conditions probably made such dual activity necessary in earlier days; at all events, Hurd, James Claypoole, Jr., Joseph Cone, W. Rollinson not only engraved prints but sold them.

Line-engravings by Americans—after paintings by Americans—figured in the lists of dealers (Klackner, Knoedler *et al.*) certainly as late as 1888: Hinshelwood, J. A. J. Wilcox, H. E. Beckwith, F. Girsch and C. Schlecht being among the engravers so employed.

Line-engraving is anything but a dead art to-day. We handle its products daily in our paper money and the postage stamp; it may be seen in the internal revenue stamp and the government bond. Bank-note work, all of this, and still the most usual outlet for work in this field. Outside of that, line-engraving appears on state occasions—say in the form of a vignette on a menu of a dinner to some notability usually signed by the firm name of an engraving company or a silverware house or fashionable stationer. The result in such cases is not hard to imagine. Commercial production, clean, smooth, thin

work, of an inconspicuous mediocrity. Occasionally there is an opportunity for the engraver of artistic ambition, as exemplified, for instance, in the diploma of the Chicago World's Fair of 1893, by Charles Schlecht from a design by Will H. Low.

A use to which line-engraving is still put in our day, and with signal success, is the reproduction of designs for book-plates. The ex libris of the early nineteenth century, by Maverick, Anderson *et al.,* and the still earlier ones by the eighteenth century men, have been referred to. Later came the revived use of the art of copper engraving for this purpose, by E. D. French, J. Winfred Spenceley, S. L. Smith, W. F. Hopson and others, dealt with more in detail in the chapter on book-plates. These men have also been employed occasionally, as were their predecessors in the eighteenth century and the early nineteenth, to execute elaborate cards of invitation, diplomas, certificates and the like, such as those done for the Metropolitan Museum or the New York Historical Society. It is a satisfaction that we possess these examples of an artistic solution of problems usually left to pure commercialism to solve. S. L. Smith's re-engravings of plates by Revere and Doolittle have been referred to. He and the other book-plate artists here mentioned, as well as the former wood-engravers F. S. King and W. M. Aikman, were engaged by the Society of Iconophiles of New York and the Iconographic Society of Boston to copy old engravings or photographs of architectural landmarks in those cities, which task they accomplished in plates of the dignity and sonority peculiar to the line-

engraving on copper. The Bibliophile Society of Boston has similarly engaged French, Hopson and the etcher W. H. H. Bicknell to engrave title-pages and illustrations for the books issued by it. And W. L. Andrews had engravings executed by French and Smith for several of his "limited edition" books. Smith designed and engraved, for that author's "Paul Revere," head and tail pieces in the style of the late eighteenth century French vignettists.

Often, these modern line-engravers of book-plates work after their own designs. That brings us to a consideration of line-engraving as a painter art, as Karl Stauffer-Bern practised it in Europe, or Hubert Herkomer. With us there is even less to say about this than abroad. I can recall but two instances. J. Alden Weir once tried the graver in producing a nude figure, "Arcturus," which added an interesting document to the record of that masterful and sensitive experimenter. And a wood-engraver, Oscar Grosch, engraved several landscapes with the burin, from nature, before he turned to the more easily manipulated etching needle. It is, of course, the greater difficulty in handling the graver that keeps artists from adopting it as a means of original expression as they do the needle or the lithographic crayon.

As a means of direct response to a need of reproduction of famous works of art, line-engraving is doomed here, as elsewhere, even more than wood-engraving. In France, some years ago, a society was founded for the express purpose of keeping alive the old art. It issued one hundred plates by the best engravers of the land, which stand as an interesting proof of the possibilities of modern

methods and point of view with an art adapted to the needs of other days. And that is all. Here, bank-note work is keeping the practice of the art alive in a restricted field and is training engravers. But the glory of the large plate as a translation of painted masterpieces has departed and the framing print, once the pride of the best room, has departed likewise. The plates produced by Woollett and Sharp in England; Morghen, Longhi, Toschi, in Italy; Muller, Mandel, in Germany and Austria; Henriquel Dupont, in France; Smillie, Burt, Durand, Jones, in the United States, may be studied as examples of reproductive art in print rooms and private collections. The camera has taken their place in the work of introducing the art masterpieces of the ages to a wider public through translations into black-and-white.

CHAPTER V

MEZZOTINT (THE ART OF ROCKER AND SCRAPER)

During the period of the American Revolution and the succeeding years there was witnessed in England a remarkable development of the art of mezzotint. This method of engraving, while not entirely as supple, as varied in possibilities, as the etching or the lithograph, has qualities peculiarly its own: a rich depth of velvety soft black of a texture different from anything which even the stone can yield, a resounding gamut of mellow lights and soft transitions and unctuous, translucent shadows. It was peculiarly fitted for the reproduction of the air of distinction and stately grace that marked both the method and the subjects of the canvases in which the great portrait painters of the day—Reynolds, Gainsborough, Hoppner, Romney—perpetuated the noble lords and ladies of their land and time. It is not necessary to insist on the fact that in the American colonies, and subsequently in the young republic, manner, inclination, time, money, talent and whatever other circumstances were necessary to bring about such a condition were all missing to a great extent. Still, as early as 1727, Peter Pelham,—"the first man," says Stauffer, "who produced a really meritorious portrait plate in this country," meaning, of course, not only in mezzotint, but in engraving of any

kind,—painted and mezzotinted his portrait of Cotton Mather. Here, therefore, as in wood-engraving, the first recorded American product is a portrait of a Mather. This fact has given peculiar prominence to this plate, a very creditable performance, for the rest. But it is only one of fourteen which Pelham executed after he came to this country (the one of Benjamin Colman, 1735, is reproduced by Stauffer) and after he had placed twenty to his credit in England. W. H. Whitmore ("Notes concerning Pelham," 1867), D. R. Slade and S. A. Green have written of Pelham. Another Mather—Increase—was pictured in a small mezzotint, *T. Johnson fecit;* probably Thomas Johnston, think Whitmore and Green, but Stauffer believes that this was the London engraver, Thomas Johnson.

Though encouragement could not, in the nature of things, be extensive in those days, there were still other artists in the colonies who made at least some attempts with "rocker" and "scraper." William Burgis, the publisher of maps and prints, did a coarsely executed view of the light-house at the entrance to Boston Harbor, the only plate signed by him seen by Stauffer. Pelham's stepson, John Singleton Copley, who apparently had instruction from his stepfather in painting and engraving, has a small portrait of Rev. William Wellsteed of Boston (about 1753) to his credit. His painting of Nathaniel Hurd was scraped, in what Dunlap thought the first mezzotint done in America, probably by Richard Jennys, who was working here about the beginning of the Revolution. Another portrait by Jennys is that of Rev. Jon-

COTTON MATHER
Mezzotint by Peter Pelham

athan Mayhew (about 1774), "printed and sold by Nat. Hurd." At about the same time Samuel Okey, an Englishman, was engraving and publishing mezzotints in Newport, R. I. His portraits included those of Rev. Thomas Hiscox (1773), reproduced by Stauffer; Rev. James Honyman (1774) and Samuel Adams after J. Mitchell (1775), which last was copied in our day by J. Percy Sabin. Okey's *The Burgomaster,* after *Halls* [sic!] is the earliest attempt in the colonies to reproduce in mezzotint a painting by an old master. Benjamin Blyth (born 1740) was represented in the exhibition of early American engravings at the Boston Museum in 1904 by an allegorical composition, showing a tree, supporting an escutcheon with thirteen stars, growing out of the southern coast (at Portsmouth) of a map of England. The title is *Sacred to Liberty* and the designer is Cole. And some prominent actors in the conflict thus symbolically pictured were portrayed by Charles Willson Peale. That universal genius, interested in many things, was attracted also by mezzotint and included it among the arts which he studied in London. His plates are described by Stauffer as "good but few and scarce"; they include portraits of Washington, Franklin and Lafayette, all from his own designs. Of his Washington portraits, the earliest (1778) is reproduced in Hart's catalogue of Washington portraits; the 1780 one—dignified and of a certain richness—in W. L. Andrews's book on American Revolutionary portraiture; and the bust portrait done 1787 was copied in mezzotint in the next century by John Sartain.

John Greenwood, though born in Boston (1727), learned mezzotint in Holland and died in England (1792); it does not appear that he ever practised the art in the land of his birth. Two portraits by him, published abroad, appeared in the catalogue of the Boston Museum's exhibition of early American engravings.

An interesting figure in this list, which, on account of the sporadic nature of the efforts recorded, perforce partakes of the nature of an annotated catalogue, is Edward Savage, painter and stipple engraver. Noteworthy are the "soft and beautiful" reproduction of his own portrait of Washington, seated, and the portrait of Franklin, after Martin (London; 2d state: Boston), the latter good though perhaps lacking in subtlety and suavity. He scraped also portraits of Benjamin Rush (1800), Wayne, David Rittenhouse and Jefferson (1800), all after his own paintings. Two other mezzotints by him are of particular interest. The one, *Muscipula* after Reynolds, as an echo of British achievement in this rich medium. The other, *Eruption of Mount Etna in 1787* (published 1799), as an example of the not common use of the process in landscape work, and as an early specimen of American color printing. Savage's Washington portraits were reproduced in mezzotint, the bust once, the three-quarter length three times—with emphasis on any stiffness in the originals—in 1799-1800, by William Hamlin (1772-1869) of Providence. Hamlin signed also a portrait of *Washington from Howdan's bust, Richmond, Va.*,—Houdon being meant, of course, —*Wm. Hamlin sc. at 91 years of age.* A portrait of

Franklin by him was catalogued at the Holden sale (No. 1481) as the "only copy known." He put mezzotint to some unusual purposes, in *The Burning of the Frigate Philadelphia, in Tripoli Harbor, Feb. 1804,* and in a reversible picture, illustrating the pleasure of *Courtship* and the disillusionment of *Matrimony.* The last print may perhaps be regarded as an American contribution to the considerable output of mezzotinted humor in the last quarter of the eighteenth century in England. Hamlin was a manufacturer of nautical instruments, of whom Stauffer says: "As an engraver Mr. Hamlin made his own tools and worked practically without instruction." The result was bad enough. His plates show a somewhat weak mixture of mezzotint and stipple, frequently worked over with the roulette. However, he probably made the best of very limited opportunities.

These old engravers turned, with Yankee ease of adaptation, from one process to the other, working in etching, line-engraving, stipple, aquatint and mezzotint. They may have been actuated partly by an awakening interest in the media and partly by the desire to find new ways of arousing their public to a more liberal bestowal of the "honest penny" which they were trying to earn.

A number of the actors in the Revolution were pictured by mezzotinters in England. Thomas Hart and others issued a number of anonymous plates, portraits of Putnam, Charles Lee, John Sullivan, David Wooster, Hancock, Washington of course, etc. And Washington was notably portrayed also by Valentine Green. There are

several mezzotint portraits of John Paul Jones, two of them (representing him in three-quarter length, with a glass under his arm) so nearly alike that they have been taken for different states of the same engraving. Portraits of British officers of the Revolutionary war, by British mezzotinters, also have interest for collectors of Americana, and in some cases stand out by conspicuous artistic merits, for example J. R. Smith's portrait of Col. Tarleton, after Reynolds. Simon's four Indian kings, much earlier in date, likewise come to mind as interesting foreign contributions to the iconography of Colonial history.

Entering the nineteenth century, one finds still occasional native efforts in this field to be noted, as a matter of record. These cases represent experiments or sidesteppings rather than continued practice. For example, Bass Otis tried his hand at various processes, which has led Stauffer to suggest that the scraped reproductions of his portraits of William White and Rev. Joseph Eastburn, though unsigned, "may be experiments by Otis himself." Another painter, John Wesley Jarvis, who engraved under Savage, produced portraits of David Rittenhouse and John H. Livingston, both published by himself. John Rubens Smith, an industrious teacher of drawing, who showed a certain ability in various branches of graphic art, is credited with some mezzotint work, such as the portraits of Gen. Benjamin Lincoln (1811) from a picture by *Coll. H. Sargent* and James Patterson after Otis (1837), or the one of Rev. Thomas Brainerd published by Smith as late as 1840. And there was another

universal genius, John Roberts (1768-1803), erratic and unable to turn his inventiveness to practical advantage. So says Dunlap, who states that he devised "a new mode of stippling, produced by instruments executed by himself" and "made a printing-press for proving his work." By him, says Stauffer, "a small mezzotint portrait of Washington exists (1799) which is extremely rich in effect and shows fine execution." Then there was Alexander Lawson, the Scotch line-engraver, who tried mezzotint as he tried etching. George Graham similarly worked in mezzotint as well as in stipple, but with more application and success, apparently. Certainly, his portrait of John Mason (1804), after Archibald Robertson, which may be seen in reproduction in Stauffer's book, shows delicacy in handling and modeling, and feeling for tone and color. And A. B. Durand, the famous line-engraver, attempted mezzotint at least once, in a portrait of his friend Sylvester Graham (of bran bread fame), but did not finish the plate, as both C. H. Hart and Samuel Isham inform us.

But the purposeful and extensive exploitation of mezzotint came in the days of John Sartain. This artist, who told the story of his life in his interesting "Reminiscences of a Very Old Man" (New York, 1899), worked in England as a stipple and line engraver before he came to this country in 1830. He has spoken of conditions when he began work here, of the "inferior quality of plate printing; Frankfort black was an article unknown." The first mezzotint executed by him here was *Patriotism and Age* after Neagle. Of strongly artis-

tic temperament, versatile and adaptative, and at the same time evidently possessed of decided business instincts, he was quick to see the advantages of mezzotint as an expeditious method for magazine illustration in that period (approximately 1835-'55). Portraiture was called for, mostly, and plates to grace the "keepsakes" and like annuals. There were "Christmas Blossoms" (1847), "The Irving Offering" (1851), "Dew Drop" (1853), "Affection's Gift" (1854) and what not besides, which had such adornments in mezzotint,—becurled females of most "ladylike" aspect and reproductions of story-telling pictures of a harmless and sometimes inane order. The portraits were, on the whole, the best part of this work on a smaller scale, and they were turned out by Sartain with a smooth facility, and a quick if not always profound seizure of general effect and character. These qualities stamp even his least important work with a certain quality of its own, differentiating it from that of his confrères. It probably amounts to this, in the last analysis, that a certain individual note predominates in his plate, more than in theirs, a swing and freedom and lightness of touch which much overcame and softened the ill effects of rapid, commercial creation. And it is no doubt this fact that has caused more than one collector to gather a number of his prints in an interesting review of this active artist's productiveness.

The possibilities of mezzotint as a medium for the illustration of magazines and books led Sartain into active alliance with publishing interests. "Graham's Magazine" was begun in 1841; before that, as Sartain himself

wrote, magazines, when illustrated at all, used worn-out plates, but "Graham's" had a new plate engraved for each number. The success of the undertaking was immense, a circulation of 40,000 was reached, and Sartain said that he had to engrave "four steel plates of each subject in order to keep pace in the printing of them with the increased demand." He issued and edited the "Foreign Semi-Monthly" and in 1847 owned and edited a quarto volume: "The American Gallery of Art." He did an enormous amount of work beside that which he furnished regularly to his own periodicals; so, in one summer, forty-five plates for annuals. Even such spurts of speed were accomplished as the scraping of the portrait of Espartero, on a "rush order," in one night. Unfortunately, comparatively large editions meant rapidly wearing plates, and in such cases the later impressions are frequently ghostly shadows, perhaps touched up by roulette and graver into a fictitious semblance of pristine freshness. Sartain used roulette and line particularly in his smaller portraits; a full-length of William Maginn (1842) is quite in roulette. He did several portraits after Sully, the one of Charles Chauncey being reproduced by Stauffer, and the Horace Binney being possibly his best portrait plate. "Now I am to be sullied for sartain," is the remark attributed to some one whose portrait by Sully was to be "scraped" by Sartain.

In such a portrait as the large ones of Robert Gilmor and Sir Thomas Lawrence, both after Lawrence, or in a rich male bust portrait after Henry Inman, Sartain showed what he could really do when opportunity offered.

In them he reflected somewhat the achievements of Charles Turner and Samuel Cousins, the epigones of the great eighteenth century mezzotinters in England, who proved once again that extreme development of technical ability in an art is quite apt to precede its decay.

This decadence was shown here, as in England, in the commercialization of technique into the so-called "mixed method," in which scraper, burin, roulette, ruling machine and stippling were combined in a monotonous hodge-podge to produce superficial results easily and cheaply. As to the predominance of weak sentimentality and fictitious grace in the "annual" plates, that was a general characteristic of this period of Victorian art, intensified somewhat, perhaps, by the fact that the softer effects of mezzotint were more easily perverted into an invertebrate mushiness than the insistent graver work of the line-engraving.

Rarely were large portraits done here which recalled in a measure the thoroughness and richness of the earlier British work, or even the ease of that of the nineteenth century. Sartain's have been noted. There is one of Sir Charles T. Metcalfe, after A. Bradish (Montreal, 1844), by William Warner, whose work Stauffer calls "admirable." It is executed in an honest, vigorous and broad manner, which may be studied in New York in an interesting series of working proofs. Warner's *John Swift,* after Sully, is rich in effect; the unctuous grace of this painter seems to have spurred engravers to emulation.

It is worthy of note, too, that William Page, the painter, was mezzotinting as early as 1834. A portrait

Sir Thomas Lawrence
After a painting by himself. Mezzotint by John Sartain

of Rev. James Milnor, with decided feeling for tones and color and chiaroscuro, and one of Edwin Forrest, are by him.

For a short period the mezzotint shared with the line-engraving the field of the large framing print. Here, also, Sartain's name is prominent. He signed, among others, *King Solomon and the Iron Worker* and *Men of Progress: American Inventors* (1862), both after Christian Schussele, Leutze's *John Knox and Mary Queen of Scots* (Art Union of Philadelphia), Rothermel's *Battle of Gettysburg,* West's *Christ rejected,* and John Blake White's *Gen. Marion . . . inviting a British Officer to Dinner* (Apollo Association, 1840). T. Doney engraved *The Jolly Flat Boat Men* after G. C. Bingham (American Art Union, 1845); A. H. Ritchie *Mercy's Dream* after Huntington, and Whitechurch *Clay addressing the Senate* after P. F. Rothermel.

Among Sartain's contemporaries who scraped portraits for the "American Whig Review" and other publications in the forties, Thomas Doney and P. M. Whelpley were prominent. They were good craftsmen, both "capital engravers," as Stauffer says, with a somewhat heavier touch than Sartain's, a tendency to work more on the plate and to produce a darker, more somber tone (accentuated by a blacker, colder ink), recalling the daguerreotype original a little more mechanically, perhaps. Doney's *Distinguished Americans at a Meeting of the New York Historical Society* (1854) contains over fifty portraits.

There are others. H. S. Sadd, Sartain's son Samuel, and S. H. Gimber. Thomas B. Welch and his one-time

(about 1840-48) partner Adam B. Walter, who did a Washington after R. Peale, were both known as engravers in stipple and in mezzotint, a fact which in itself might explain a tendency to use the "mixed method" already referred to. This method was employed with light-hearted industry by H. Wright Smith (a pupil of Doney), George E. Perine, J. C. Buttre and others. Yet farther names which illustrate the use of mezzotint by engravers identified rather with work on copper in line and stipple are those of J. C. McRae (*Bishop J. M. Wainwright,* after Thomas Hicks, 1854), Illman & Sons (Washington Family, after Savage), and Illman & Pilbrow (portrait of Washington), on all of whose work one has no cause to insist beyond this citation of it as an example of the commercialization of mezzotint. The records of some, at least, of these men show pretty conclusively that they began work on a more ambitious scale than that indicated by the smooth, characterless pot-boilers to which the exigencies of business held them; such must really be judged by some of their earlier and less familiar engravings.

The tendency in "mixed method" portraits was, on the whole, toward burin-engraving. Line-engraving held its own to the final exclusion of mezzotint, and was in its turn supplanted, to a very great extent, by wood-engraving.

But the glamor of the golden period of British mezzotint never faded absolutely. In England, within the past twenty-five years, Thomas G. Appleton and others have responded to the interest of collectors and other art lovers

in one of the most notable pages of their country's art history, reviving with much success the memories of those days of stately grace and bewigged dignity. Such traditions wanting in this country, one could at most expect a utilization of the peculiar qualities of mezzotint to invest portraiture with its richness and sonority. That, William Sartain, the painter (son of John Sartain), did in various portraits, Washington after Schuessele (1864), John Brown, Gen. Braddock (1899), and in those, all in pure mezzotint, of Washington, Byron and Irving, the last two printed in brown, a color that has been found more satisfactory to many than an absolute black. Max Rosenthal, who in etching and lithography has industriously served the interest in American portraiture, used mezzotint also, creditably, and in its pure form. Among his portraits are those of William Dunlap, Benjamin Harrison and Washington, after Stuart.

The most recent use of the mezzotint tools has placed them at the service of the color print, a field in which American artists of to-day do not stand second to their British contemporaries. It is often said that the old English mezzotints became best fitted for printing in color after a number of impressions in black had been pulled therefrom. The modern mezzotinters in color rock and scrape their plates with direct reference to their immediate use for color printing.

S. Arlent Edwards has achieved noteworthy and international prominence in this field. Catalogues of his work include plates after artists of quite different periods, styles and points of view,—Gainsborough, Hals, Greuze,

Da Vinci, Lancret, Ghirlandaio, Rembrandt, Vigée Le Brun, Morland, Holbein, Van Dyck, Luini, Botticelli. The great variety in method and subjects indicated by this list he has reproduced with a soft richness of color. In the latter he has not hesitated to vary occasionally from the originals. Such emphasis on the personal element in these translations from canvas to paper makes the product something to be collected for the sake of the engraver quite apart from consideration of the original artist. His plates are produced in one printing, absolutely without retouching by hand on the print. His *Visit to the Boarding School,* after Morland, is considered by Frederick R. Halsey "his best, certainly technically." Charles Bird and J. S. King have also been enlisted in the service of this specialty, which has its circle of discriminating and admiring collectors.

It is a pleasure to be able to record any noteworthy effort of our artists to enter the bypaths of original production in any of the reproductive graphic arts. In mezzotint such cases are rare enough abroad and more so with us. One of our artists, at least, used this medium, and with a freedom of manner and a richness of effect that open up interesting possibilities in its use as a painter art. That was James D. Smillie, a master craftsman, whose *Hollyhocks,* a plate of quiet charm, is said to have been scraped direct from nature. At the American Water Color Society's exhibition of 1911 there were shown his *Evening, Raquette Lake; Double Hollyhocks; A Piece of Jade* and *A Shoreless Sea,* the last an unfinished plate, free in feeling, "the best he ever did," said Mr. Mielatz

to me. And it must be duly recorded here also that John Henry Hill, painter and etcher, was led by his admiration for Turner to copy in mezzotint a plate in the *Liber Studiorum*.

In view of the fact that original etching is left almost exclusively to etchers, and that our painters stick pretty closely to the canvas, it seems useless to hope that any of these same painters may turn occasionally to the medium which offers them such interesting and profitable by-roads to explore by way of mental diversion. Perhaps some of the specialists who have in recent years labored so well to revive the appreciation of painter-etching may be led to give attention to mezzotint. Perhaps Mielatz or some one inspired by him? Possibly the attractions of the monotype may help to lead the way to an understanding of opportunities dormant in mezzotint.—Perhaps!

CHAPTER VI

AQUATINT AND SOME OTHER TINTS

AQUATINT is one of the graphic arts with which the public is least familiar. It is a response to the demand for tone, for a certain completeness of effect instead of the suggestion of the etching, for a fuller rendition of light and shade in place of the line—after all, a convention—of the line-engraving on copper. The process was used in France, for the color prints of Debucourt, Descourtis *et al.*, with complexity of manipulation and a superimposition of printings. These quite obliterated the traces of its characteristic features, the peculiarly reticulated grain caused by the powdered resin (dusted on to the plate or applied suspended in alcohol), which formed a sort of etching ground when the plate was put in the acid bath. This feature was prominent in English work, in which the evident prime *raison d'être* of the process, the imitation of wash drawings in water color or sepia, is quite apparent. Aquatinting was adapted to, and much used for, the illustration of books of travel and of pictorial topography (such as the "Microcosm of London" and Richard Ayton's "Voyage round Great Britain") after drawings executed in light outlines and flat washes of color or monotone. Such an extensive use was not to be expected in the United States, partly, perhaps, on account of a lack of sufficient artistic talent and craftsman-

ship, and partly because time and public were not quite ripe. But the possibilities of the process evidently appealed to some experimentative spirits here. In 1799 Edward Savage painted and engraved two pictures of *The Constellation and L'Insurgent,* one of the fight and another of *the chace.* Then, in May, 1811, some landscape plates (views of Fort Putnam and Fort Clinton) appeared in the Philadelphia "Port-Folio," very crude, but accompanied by high-sounding and hopeful letterpress comments. Bass Otis, the portrait painter, tried his hand also at aquatinting. *Playing at Draughts,* after Burnet, is by him, as well as portraits of Philip S. Physick, M.D., and the Rev. Abner Kneeland. An earlier *View of the Old Brick Meeting House in Boston,* 1808, drawn by John Rubens Smith and engraved by J. Kidder, is much better and more artistic than the "Port-Folio" plates just mentioned, showing good contrasts of light and shade, with rolling clouds to counteract the straight lines of the buildings. Kidder's plates include several other Boston views, one (*Court House*) after his own design. His *View on Boston Common,* published in "The Polyanthos" (Boston, June, 1813), was referred to editorially as the work of "Master J. Kidder," and "his first essay in aquatinta." J. R. Smith himself did Pennsylvania, New York, and Rhode Island views, all large, (*Catskill Mountain House* appearing as late as 1830), some after his own designs, as was also a fireman's certificate. Two *Hudson River Portfolio* plates—No. 2: *Junction of the Sacandaga and Hudson Rivers* and No. 3: *Hadley's Falls*—appeared over his name. Stauffer notes

two plates by Wm. Hamlin of Providence, the mezzotint engraver: *Peacock and L'Epervoir* (naval combat) and *U. S. Ship Philadelphia at Tripoli* (ship on fire). Francis Kearny, like Smith, tried his hand at various media; Dunlap records that he studied aquatint and other processes "principally by the aid of books." Still another line-engraver, William Rollinson, practised aquatint also; at the E. B. Holden sale (No. 2061) appeared a view of the New York Custom House, with the original drawing from which it was engraved, both by Rollinson. His *View of New York from Long Island* (1801) was from a drawing by J. Wood. Rollinson used both stipple and aquatint in a portrait of Washington after Savage, and in the portraits by Samuel Folwell aquatint and stipple also appeared in a combination "rather pleasing in effect, though showing an unpractised hand." Abner Reed, a stipple-engraver, also has at least one aquatint portrait to his credit, that of Rev. Jonathan Edwards, after Molthrop, as well as a series of *Six Views, in Aquatinta taken from Nature* (Hartford, 1810). And to the occasional aquatints by line-engravers there are to be added also the views by William Kneass and J. I. Pease (*Fort Niagara,* 1814), and one by F. Shallus, poor enough but with a certain freedom (in sky effect) in contrast with his fearful line portrait of Captain Cook.

Particularly identified with the art in those early days was William Strickland, the architect. He did small views, such as *View on the Susquehannah* from a drawing by J. L. Morton ("Port-Folio," Feb., 1816) and scenes

in the War of 1812 ("Analectic Magazine"). But he also signed a number of portraits of heroes of the war, Hull, Decatur, Jackson, Lawrence, McDonough. The use of aquatint for portraits was not common at any time; Strickland's full-length of Meriwether Lewis, *St. Memim* [sic!] *Pinxt,* done in coarse grain, gives some idea of his treatment in such work. A thin volume published in Baltimore in 1815, "The Art of Colouring and Painting Landscapes in Water Colours . . . By an Amateur," has ten plates by Strickland, colored by hand. Still another landscape aquatinter was J. Drayton,—and a good print colorist to boot (*View near Bordentown, engraved and colored by J. Drayton*).

Caricature, too, is represented here: in some of the plates of William Charles (*John Bull and the Alexandrians, John Bull the Ship-Baker*) and in a later, unsigned picture of John Binns, *The Pedlar and his Pack.* Charles, by the way, executed also plates after Rowlandson for the "Vicar of Wakefield" and the "Town of Dr. Syntax," which he published.

The ground had been prepared when John Hill and W. J. Bennett, both Englishmen, came to this country in 1816. Their works mark the culmination of this short period of successful practice of the art. Hill, who had been engaged on views after Turner, Loutherbourg and others, before he came to the United States, was the father of John William Hill (one of the group of American Pre-Raphaelites) and the grandfather of John Henry Hill of West Nyack, N. Y., painter, etcher and admirer of Turner. John Hill executed a series of large plates

after designs by Joshua Shaw (*Picturesque Views of American Scenery,* 1819) and W. G. Wall (the *Hudson River Portfolio*). This Hudson River series, an early tribute to the beauties of the "American Rhine," presumably had a respectable sale. At all events, the plates passed into the hands of Henry I. Megarey of New York, and an edition was issued by him. For the benefit of collectors it may be noted that there was some renumbering of the sheets, so that impressions exist with numbers different from those given in Stauffer's valuable work; e.g., 14, 2, 5, 20, instead of Stauffer's 5, 8, 10, 13, and so on. One of Hill's best-known plates—best known mainly on account of its local interest to collectors—is the view of Broadway, New York City, at Canal Street, *Drawn and etched by T. Horner, aquatinted by J. Hill, printed by W. Neale,* 1836. (This giving credit to the printer is not uncommon on nineteenth century copperplates in line and other processes, J. Neale, Rollinson, Andrew Maverick, and later Butler & Long, Kimmel & Co., J. E. Gavit and W. Pate being among the names encountered.)

Hill, who was a good craftsman and understood his art, appropriately used a coarser, more open grain for these large plates, which were, moreover, colored by hand. For his earliest works, the small magazine plates, published in black-and-white, such as *Haddel's Point, S. C., Richmond, Va.,* and *York Springs, Va.,* all after C. Fraser, he used a much closer grain, suited to the size of the picture. A slight matter this may seem at first sight, but in its way it is an exemplification of the necessity

New York from Governor's Island
Aquatint, after W. G. Wall, by John Hill

of adjusting means to end. An unusual Hill item is the *Mill at Marlborough, Md.,* after E. van Blom, catalogued under No. 3560 at the E. B. Holden sale with the note "three states of a rare and undescribed aquatint; in colors, in tint and in black."

Bennett, who became an N.A., also signed plates well known to collectors of views, particularly New York City views. Two of his most interesting plates are *South Street, N. Y.* (of which impressions exist in black-and-white before the kettle near the lower left corner, and colored with that implement added), and *Fulton Street,* both from his own drawings. Among his plates for the "New Mirror" is one of *Hay Sloops on the North River* (1843); the accompanying note states: "Fanny Kemble thought the sloops of the North River the most picturesque things she had seen in this country." His larger pieces include *New York from Brooklyn Heights. Painted by J. W. Hill* (1837), *New York taken from the Bay near Bedlow's Island. Painted by J. G. Chapman, Engraved by J. W.* [sic!] *Bennett,* printed in colors, the views of Baltimore, Boston and Troy, from his own designs, and the one of Buffalo after J. W. Hill, and particularly the *View of the Great Fire 1835* and *View of the Ruins after the Great Fire,* both from paintings by N. Calyo, a scenic artist. And at least one more plate is to be noted in which Bennett had a hand, a departure into figure work: the portrait of Mrs. Maeder, late Miss Clara Fisher, *engraved by Stephen H. Gimber and Wm. J. Bennett from the original picture by Inman,* described in the catalogue of the E. B. Holden

sale (No. 4896) as " excessively scarce "; Gimber's name is not mentioned by Stauffer, who lists this print.

G. Lehman painted, engraved and hand-colored a series of Pennsylvania views (1829) and Annin & Smith, line and stipple engravers, and for a time also in the lithographic business, tried their hand at aquatinting as well, according to a sales-catalogue item: *Springfield o. c. Maximus, painted by A. Fisher.*

In all the work spoken of, aquatint appears in flat tints, rather sharply circumscribed and consequently without gradations (excepting such as are effected through water-color washes), and with a resultant occasional stage-scenery effect. The only exception to this is found in the seven or eight hundred profile portraits of American worthies executed by Charles Balthazar Julien Fevret de Saint-Memin. From a crayon drawing in profile, made with the aid of the " physionotrace," which he reduced with a pantograph to a circle about two inches in diameter, he scratched a light outline on copper, finishing with fine aquatint and roulette. Thus, trace of the grain is practically lost in a sauce of grays and blacks. One of the two collections of proofs of these portrait plates formed the basis of the volume of 760 reproductions of such portraits by St. Memin, published by Elias Dexter, New York, 1862. The Grolier Club held an exhibition of his works in 1899.

There was some stray use of aquatint until well into the fifties, notably for large views. Robert Havell, the English engraver, who did plates for Audubon's book on birds, executed a view of Baltimore (1847), and two

panoramic ones of New York City (1844), which latter he published at Sing Sing. Henry Papprill engraved two large views of New York City, issued in 1849, one *as seen from Governor's Island,* after F. Catherwood, the other, which was re-issued 1855 with necessary changes in the names on some signboards, *from St. Paul's Church,* after J. W. Hill. Hill designed also the large view of New York City from Brooklyn, engraved by Himly, printed by McQueen, London, 1855. This engraver is no doubt the Swiss Sigmund Himely (born 1801), who worked in Paris, but did at least two other views of the metropolis, one (1851) painted by Heine, J. Kummer and Döpler (Heine and Döpler spent some time in this country), the other, *Vue de New York. Prise de Weahawk,* after Garneray, published in Paris, possibly much earlier, perhaps in the thirties. Another foreign-made view of the city is the well-known *Winter Scene in Broadway* (1857) by P. Girardet after H. Sebron, who was also in New York City at the same time as Doepler. The Hill-Himely (1855) view is possibly more often encountered in its later state, entirely worked over with ruled lines by C. Mottram, whose name appears instead of Himely's.

But, despite such occasional productions, whatever vogue aquatint had did not last much beyond about 1840. Line-engraving, and later on also lithography, took its place as a means of reproducing pictures of landscape.

It was not until the movement for painter-etching took place in the seventies and eighties, that one man at least turned his attention again to the disused art. That was

James D. Smillie; and he used aquatint as a painter art, as a medium for direct expression, as the painter uses paint and canvas, as Rembrandt or Whistler used etching or lithography. He was so versatile a craftsman, and his life was so busy a one, that he could not devote much time to this one specialty in graphic art, but in plates such as *An old Dam near Montrose* and *Old Houses near Boulogne,* he showed a mastery of technique which overcame some of the difficulties of the method and merged the flat, even tints into each other with more than a semblance merely of a gradual passing from light to shadow, giving quite a different conception of the process than had hitherto obtained. With him, too, we find variation of method to suit the particular purpose: *Fairground, Montrose, with Sheep* shows a crayon-like effect, *Pansies* is done with a very coarse grain, and so on. All the plates mentioned were shown at the American Water Color Society's exhibition in 1904.

Quite recently, Charles F. W. Mielatz, a craftsman ever experimenting, has similarly disclosed somewhat unexpected possibilities in painter-aquatint. In his *The Wave* the art has undergone a transformation, has through scraping and other manipulations acquired a pliancy, a fullness of delicate gradation that once seemed hardly possible. Moreover, this is an interesting piece of color-printing in two tints, bluish green above and yellowish below, the two mingling in the center. The printing was done from one plate at one time, the color having been applied *à la poupée.* Again, the etching, *Grand Central Depot at Night* (1889), has a light tint of aquatint,

which, having been put on after the etched lines, took off the sharp edge of the latter and modulated their incisiveness into something like the suaver effect of soft-ground etching. Finally, in *Winter Night,* he employed organdy, or something like it, to regulate the grain of the aquatint. The textile was laid onto a plate covered with etching ground and run through the press, exposing the plate wherever it was thus pressed through the ground. The plate was then subjected to the action of acid, and after that aquatinted. The process is therefore in a measure akin to what is known as "sandpaper mezzotint." Mielatz used aquatint also in its more usual form, and as a reproductive art, in a series of New York City views done for the "Society of Iconophiles" after pictures on Staffordshire pottery, the proofs printed in blue ink. (The original stoneware, by the way, is described in R. T. Haines Halsey's "Pictures of Early New York on dark blue Staffordshire Pottery, together with Pictures of Boston and New England, Philadelphia, the South and West," New York, 1899.)

Usually, however, aquatint is employed as an accessory to the etched line, either to add a tone in black (*vide* Goya or Klinger) or to serve as a basis to hold color (so used by French etchers to-day). John Henry Hill, in an etched view of Niagara, applied the grain on the falling water and foam with a delicacy similar to that of the sky of *Dunstanborough Castle* in Turner's *Liber Studiorum.* His *Moonlight on the Androscoggin,* entirely in aquatint, was published in the "American Art Review." Helen Hyde executed at least one plate in

black-and-white, a Japanese subject with the flat effect of Japanese wood-block tints and with a somewhat Goya-like darkness and solidity. W. F. Hopson has also employed aquatint as an accessory. Likewise Addison T. Millar, to add tone to some of his etched plates, for instance, *The Sheepfold, Laren* (1904) and *Moonrise, the Shipyard* (1905). Millar has sometimes employed an unusual procedure; he has washed a drawing on a plate with prepared ink, then covered the plate with etching ground, immersed it in water, thereby dissolving the ink and lifting off the ground above it, thus baring the plate wherever it had been drawn upon. Aquatint was then applied, taking effect, of course, only on the bared portions.

Mary Cassatt also did some aquatints printed in black, but used the process more notably in a fine grain, to hold color, in her dry-points intended to be printed with something of the effect of Japanese chromo-xylographs.

The color etchings of George Senseney, which, though aiming at completeness of tonal effect, are of a noteworthy spontaneity and freshness of view, are produced by a blending of soft-ground etching and aquatint. These two media, with the addition of rouletting, were used also in Mielatz's *Road to the Beach* (1890). Lester G. Hornby, too, has occasionally used aquatint and soft-ground etching in combination, both in color-work and in black-and-white. And in recent years Vaughan Trowbridge for a while employed the aquatint ground in practical purity, to express light and shade and tone by "stopping out," and as a means for holding color applied with

Old Mills, Coast of Virginia
Soft-ground etching by James D. Smillie

Old Dam
Aquatint by James D. Smillie

a completeness of effect approaching that of the aquarelle or oil-painting, a fullness of color expression such as we find it in the color etchings of Thaulow, Laffitte and others, published in Paris. J. S. King, using aquatint as an accessory to get tones in reproductive etchings, applied the acid with a feather or brush in order to avoid the characteristic sharp edges.

While the record of American achievement in this art of pleasing effects is not an extensive one, it embraces practically all its possibilities, presented with noteworthy, and at times masterly, craftsmanship.

There are other methods of producing tints and tones on copper plates. Foul biting, sulphur, scotch-stone, and experiments such as etching zinc with rain-water (made by Mielatz), are noted in the chapter devoted to etching. There is sandpaper mezzotint, too, which Pennell has used occasionally to produce grained tint.

Finally, there is the monotype, which may as well be considered with miscellaneous processes here, although its effect is rather closer to the mezzotint, which it resembles at least in this that it is produced by elimination from a dark basis, the lights being wiped out.

The monotype is produced by painting on the plate with printer's ink, or oil colors (Bacher used "burnt sienna or ivory black with a medium"), applied in an even tint and then worked up with rags, brushes, stumps, brush-handles, fingers,—any instruments to suit the artist's fancy and serve his purpose. Then, with the ink or color still wet, the plate is run through the press, with a resultant impression on paper that must of course be, in

each case, unique. (Hubert von Herkomer, in his "spongotype," did indeed invent a method of taking more than one impression, but the process is generally used as here described.) The process has a peculiar attraction for artists, from Castiglione's time to the present day. The monotypist within the proper limits of the art works with unrestrained freedom while at the same time considerable demands are made on his dexterity and experience in order that the best results may be foreseen and produced.

S. R. Koehler, in his German account of American etching, says: "The first to show such impressions publicly in America was Wm. M. Chase in New York; soon afterward Charles H. Walker in Boston discovered the process independently, and has since applied it with particular preference, and Peter Moran and others followed them." Dr. Charles H. Miller, N.A., says that when in Rotterdam in 1879 he bought a monotype, a head of a girl of a Carrière-like mistiness, inscribed *T. Cremona dip. I. Ciconi inc.* This he showed to fellow members of the Art Club of New York, and it was subsequently exhibited in that city. Thereupon, says Mr. Miller, "Mr. Chase and others experimented with the fascinating possibilities" of this process. Chase showed a monotype at a black-and-white show at the Academy (N. Y.) in 1881, and Peter Moran's exhibits at the first etching show in Philadelphia (1882-83) included some specimens of this fascinating art. Christian Brinton records also the enthusiasm of Joseph Jefferson for this medium, and the work in colors of Prof. Rufus Sheldon.

Otto H. Bacher's method, already referred to, was employed, as Bacher records in his "With Whistler in Venice," by Duveneck and his class "as a means of amusement," under the name of "Bachertype."

In recent years the process has again attracted increased attention among artists. The late Louis Loeb, Augustus Koopman, E. Haskell and Charles Warren Eaton have practised it. Loeb, Albert Sterner and E. Peixotto were among the members of a monotype club formed in New York City under the presidency of Leslie Cauldwell, according to Brinton. Eaton showed some prints, rich in effect, at the exhibition of the American Water Color Society in 1910, where there were also several interesting ones in color—*Girl at the Bath Tub, Girl near Mirror*—by Everett Shinn, who called them "pastel monotypes." Work in color was shown also by Rufus Sheldon at the Society's exhibition in 1908. The 1910 exhibit included also some monotypes by J. F. Burns, a newcomer.

Noteworthy employment of the process has been made by C. F. W. Mielatz, who used it, with touches of color, in reproducing certain picturesque spots in New York City, in a series of plates done, and reproduced in photogravure, for the Society of Iconophiles (1908). But he has also executed a number of monotypes independently of this set, getting interesting effects with a pigment not intended for art or even color purposes at all, drawing in broad strokes which contracted when the plate was heated.

Finally, in 1911, Albert Sterner held in New York an

exhibition of monotypes, among them *The Echo, The Model* and *The Gray Vase,* which last-named the "Evening Post" singled out particularly for "the wonderful lights on the woman's flesh" and a "serenity of color"; *My boy* was characterized as a "remarkable piece of mellow color." Sterner, working with brush, cloth or fingers, modeling with rapid energy, has shown what results training, fine, sensitive, artistic temperament and flexibility of method can effect in this medium.

All proper use of such processes by artists is certainly to be commended and desired. It gives new viewpoints, arouses interest, protects from the rut.

CHAPTER VII

WOOD-ENGRAVING

WOODCUT illustrations appeared in the earliest books printed in Europe with movable type, as well as in the block books (e.g., "Biblia Pauperum"). So the earliest efforts to bring knowledge to wider circles through the printed page profited by the powerful aid of pictorial representation. And wood-engraving, through its homely, straightforward vigor and its possibilities of more rapid multiplication and consequent wider circulation than engraving on copper, remained the reproductive art of most direct popular appeal, from its rudest beginnings to the most highly finished products of recent times. With the development of line-engraving on copper wood-engraving sank into decay, so that in the eighteenth century, when the period of glorious achievement in French portraiture had already set in, the copper-plate, both in etched and engraved form, took possession also of the field of book-illustration. Wood-engraving, in the late seventeenth century and during the eighteenth, was relegated to the chapbook and other like means of reaching the common people. A taint of vulgarity seemed to cling to this misunderstood art, and it remained for Thomas Bewick to open the way for new and hitherto unthought-of possibilities.

America formed, quite naturally, no exception to the general rule. The parallel with European conditions may be drawn even to this extent that the first engraving known to have been executed in this country was on wood. This was a portrait of the Rev. Richard Mather, supposed to have been engraved by John Foster, to whom Dr. Samuel Abbott Green devoted a volume: "John Foster: the earliest American engraver and the first Boston printer" (Boston, 1909). Dr. Green reproduces two impressions of this print, and tells us that the inscription in ink, *Johannes Foster sculpsit,* on one of them, which was found by Wilberforce Eames as a frontispiece to a copy of Mather's life (1670) in Harvard University, is in the handwriting of Rev. Wm. Adams of Dedham, who originally owned the book and knew Foster. This engraver did also the *seal and arms of ye colony* (appearing in "General Laws and Liberties of the Massachusetts Colony," 1672) and a map of New England (1677). This map, issued with Rev. W. Hubbard's narrative of Indian troubles, was the first one engraved in this country.

Subsequent response to whatever needs our colonies had for portraiture or views came practically all in copper-engraving, for which our silversmiths had a certain preparation in their training. The results were often very crude, but they were surrounded by the glamor of the copper-plate and its clean-cut lines. The rougher effects of the woodcut methods of the day appeared in printer's stock ornaments, in newspaper titles and occasional cuts, even in paper currency, printed from the wood block or

from type-metal. There was, for instance, the title design of the "Boston Gazette" (March 11, 1771) representing Britannia and various attributes. Or such early attempts at newspaper cartooning as the snake divided into pieces representing the individual colonies, with the device *Unite or die* or *Join or die,* which appeared in various papers before the Revolution. This is attributed to Benjamin Franklin. Albert Matthews finds that McMaster was not warranted in absolutely asserting that "both the design and the cutting were the work of Franklin." On the other hand, Linton cites the report that Franklin cut the ornaments for his *Poor Richard's Almanac* on metal, in the manner of a woodcut, while Abel Bowen wrote: "I have evidence that Dr. Franklin engraved some devices on wood and that some were used in the printing of the Continental money."

In "Father Abraham's Almanac" for 1859 there is a frontispiece representing a man at a telescope, with a four-line verse beginning "Oft have I viewed, in admiration lost." It is signed *H. D.,* and the theory that the engraver is Henry Dawkins is invitingly obvious.

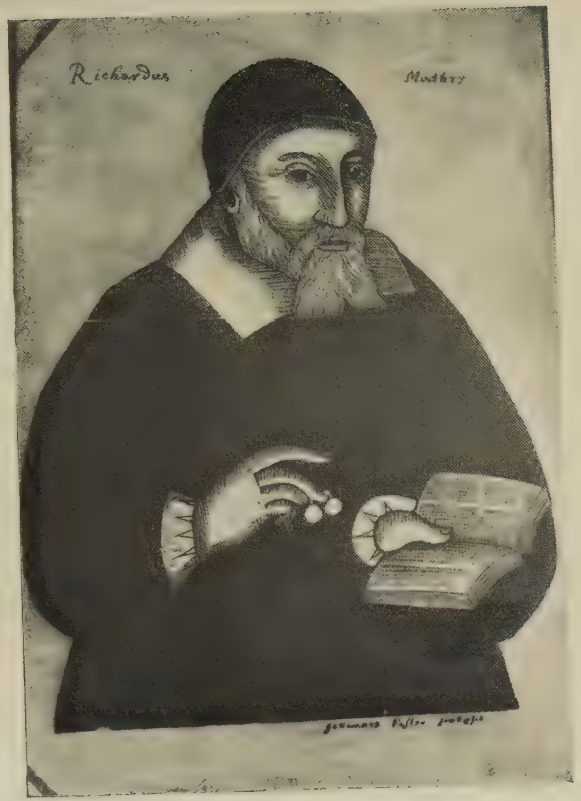
There are to be recorded even such ambitious attempts as the series of profile portraits, each representing a man wearing a cocked hat. All are either printed from the same block or copied from the same original, but they are labeled, respectively, *Bradley, Governor of Rhode Island, Columbus, Henry Lee, Samuel Adams* and *Richard Howel.*

A few instances of known eighteenth century engravers are noted in Stauffer and elsewhere; Thomas Sparrow

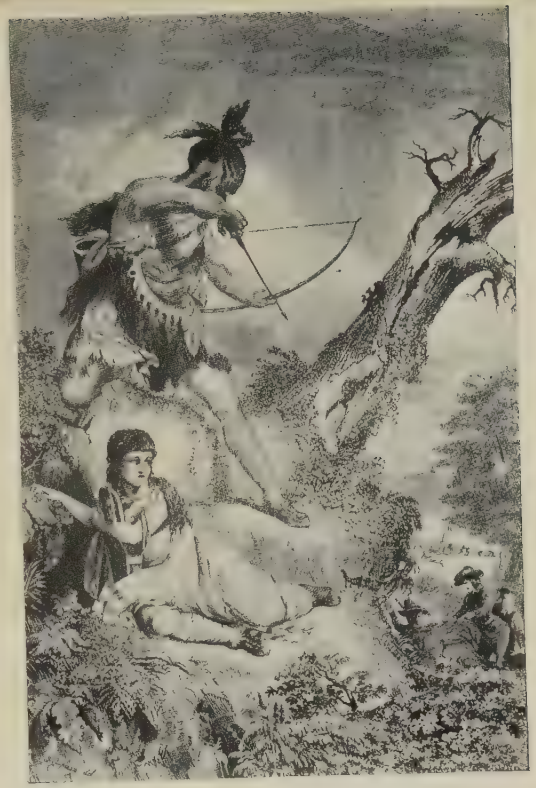
and Francis Dewing (who did also calico printing), both engravers on copper, produced also some woodcuts.

The fragmentary appearance of this information is in accord with the sporadic nature of the work described.

With us the renascence came, as in England, through the "white line." Late in the eighteenth century, Dr. Alexander Anderson, having first tried copper-engraving, and then cutting in relief on type-metal for newspapers, saw work by Bewick in 1793 and was led to try box-wood. He re-engraved Bewick cuts ("Quadrupeds," New York, 1804, and "Emblems of Mortality"), meanwhile studying medicine. He soon found much employment from various publishers; of one of them, Samuel Wood, Anderson himself says: "I did an infinity of cuts for his excellent set of small books." The amount of work he accomplished was enormous; the New York Public Library has about 8,000 proofs in old scrap-books, apparently including not many duplicates. C. L. Moreau, in 1872, printed a collection of "one hundred and fifty engravings executed after his ninetieth year," and next year "Illustrations of Mother Goose's Melodies, designed and engraved on Wood by Alexander Anderson." Lossing says he did, on wood, "from sheet ballads, primers, business cards, tobacconist's devices, wrappers of playing cards, diplomas and newspaper cuts of every sort, to magazines, stately scientific treatises and large Bibles." An interesting example of his work, done at about his best period (1818), is the bust portrait of Washington (the one facing right!), printed from the original block as a frontispiece to "A Bibliography of



RICHARD MATHER
By John Foster. The first known wood-engraving executed in the colonies



THE LAST ARROW
Wood-engraving after J. G. Chapman
by J. A. Adams

American Books relating to Prints," by H. C. Levis (1910). It is dark in tone, the face vigorously modeled without cross-hatching, and the background *criblée* (white dots on a black ground). At least two large engravings are recorded to his credit, *Returning from the Boar Hunt,* after Ridinger, a bold, vigorous piece of white-line engraving, and *Water-fowl* after Teniers. These were copied, it is said, from copper-plates, but it is a rather remarkable fact that Anderson, though originally an engraver on copper, did not allow that fact to influence him in his work on wood. Even when copying Shakespeare cuts after Thurston by John Thompson, he has toned down the metallic luster of the original by adhering strictly to the white line and preserving the essential character of wood-engraving, instead of twisting it into an imitation of copper-plate. That element should be fully appreciated.

Wm. Clark, an old Philadelphia engraver, in a letter to the present writer, very aptly quoted the "Port Folio," 1812, page 14, with reference to *Shelric and Venvula,* from Ossian, by Anderson, shown at the second annual exhibition of the Academy of Fine Arts: "We have at all times been delighted on viewing the works of this excellent, useful and unassuming artist. Engravings on wood, when finely executed, are of great importance, as they are printed with the letter press, take off large numbers of impressions, and are afforded at a low price, but the talent and skill necessary in this truly useful branch of the arts is not perhaps at present sufficiently appreciated." The recognition of Anderson and the in-

clusion of a wood-engraver's work in so early an art exhibition are as noteworthy as is the understanding of both the commercial and the artistic possibilities of wood-engraving shown in this notice. It should be added, as farther indicating Anderson's standing, that he was an honorary member of the National Academy of Design. Benson J. Lossing issued a "Memorial" (1872), E. A. Duyckinck a "Brief Catalogue of the Books illustrated with Engravings by Dr. Alexander Anderson" (1885), and Frederick M. Burr a "Life" (1893).

Anderson had four pupils, Garret Lansing, William Morgan (who "abandoned the graver for the pencil"), John H. Hall, and his own daughter Anna.

John H. Hall, who began in 1826, and in 1830 found employment with Carter, Andrews & Co., did some of his best work, ornithological illustrations, in a spirit and manner showing that Bewick's influence had descended through Anderson to his pupil. He could be both delicate, as in some of his landscapes, and vigorous, as when he combined the white line and inky blacks. In an announcement dated Albany, Oct. 20, 1826, he states that "it is a fact well attested, though not generally known, that engravings on boxwood, with proper usage, are more durable than either type-metal cuts or copper-plate engravings."

Meanwhile, Abel Bowen, who began, as he says himself, as early as 1805, brought the art to Boston about 1812, his apprentice, Nathaniel Dearborn, starting in business there for himself some two years later. Much of Bowen's production consisted of copies for American edi-

tions of English books, for example the " Young Ladies' Book " (1830). " Very remarkable for their fidelity to the original," says Linton, speaking of the cuts in the latter; " the distinguishing manner of each engraver is so exactly preserved that I was with difficulty convinced the cuts were not done from transfers." The proofs printed in Wm. Henry Whitmore's monograph on Bowen (Bostonian Society: 1887) are not particularly remarkable, but are, on the whole, good commercial work.

William Croome, a pupil of Bowen, worked somewhat similarly to his master but subsequently turned to illustrating and to designing for bank-notes. Other pupils of Bowen were G. Thomas Devereux, Mallory, Kilburn, B. F. Childs, George Loring Brown the painter and Hammatt Billings the architect; this in the thirties.

Bowen was a publisher of illustrated books. He brought out " The Naval Monument " (1816), " A topographical and historical Description of Boston " (1817), " Picture of Boston " (1829), and others on the Massachusetts capital. That form of activity is found in a number of other cases. There was John W. Barber of New Haven, " draughtsman, engraver, author, editor and publisher," who issued a number of historical works, and who, it is said, devoted his energies not so much to accomplishment in engraving as to preaching " the Gospel by means of pictures." For at least one of his books, the one on Connecticut, he traveled about, collecting material and making sketches for the illustrations, just as Benson J. Lossing did, in later years, when preparing his " field books " of the Revolution and the War

of 1812, the volume on the Hudson River, and similar books. Several other engravers became known as publishers of illustrated books or periodicals. T. W. Strong issued "Yankee Notions," "Young America" and other serials. Joseph A. Adams, of whom more presently, was directly interested in the Harper Bible. Later in the century John Karst was projecting and publishing school books and A. V. S. Anthony was superintending for Osgood in Boston the preparation of finely illustrated books of poetry and other literature, planning text, pictures and all.

Returning to our earlier engravers, we find William Mason introducing the art to Philadelphia in 1810, followed by his pupil Gilbert. The latter, as I am informed by Wm. Clark (who himself began his apprenticeship in 1851), was connected with the "American Sunday School Union." Later there were Fairchild in Hartford and Horton in Baltimore.

In 1829, Abraham J. Mason, an Englishman, came to America, was made an Associate of the National Academy in 1830, and later became professor of wood-engraving at that institution, delivering also a course of lectures on his art. But it seems that, although he also had a bookstore on Canal Street, New York City, he could not command a satisfactory income.

All these and other names are recorded, with much interesting comment, in W. J. Linton's "History of Wood-engraving in America" (Boston, 1882), which appeared originally in the "American Art Review." Despite this increase of engravers, and the large amount of

work turned out by Anderson alone, Linton says that "the cuts done in these days were few; the principal for toy books and similar juvenile works, published by Samuel Wood, Mahlon Day, Solomon King and other New York publishers." Yet Abel Bowen, as far back as 1812, when he issued a rather poorly executed card, "immediately," to use his own words, "received orders from the principal publishers in the city." So there must have been some demand for such work.

Linton notes that in the forties illustrated books began to increase, and, in fact, the change that came at this time is quite apparent. The "Family Bible," first projected in 1837, was brought out by the Harpers in 1846, "embellished with 1,600 historical engravings by J. A. Adams, more than 1,400 of which are from original designs by J. G. Chapman," the exceptions being transfers of English cuts. Many of the smaller blocks were engraved by pupils of Adams. There was no use of the white line here; it was all straight facsimile work, faithful rendering of Chapman's lines, which latter, furthermore, were executed with a fineness and formal precision and cross-hatching quite evidently intentionally reminiscent of copper-plate work. All of this had to be rendered literally, with a resultant mechanical hardness in the engraving. This feeling appears also in Chapman's "American Drawing Book," issued in several editions from 1847 on, with cuts by Kinnersley, Herrick, Howland, Wright, Bobbett, Bookhout; "the very perfection of mechanism," says Linton, but also "I know no other book like this, so good, so perfect in all it undertakes."

It was one evidence of the considerable English influence on American wood-engraving, this quality which led Linton to speak of Adams as a possible American Thompson, this tendency to apply the methods of copper-plate engraving to the wood. This is referred to also by S. R. Koehler, in his chapter on the United States, in Vol. I (on wood-engraving) of "Die Vervielfältigende Kunst der Gegenwart" (Vienna, 1887). Yet the "Harper Bible" in drawing, engraving and printing was a very remarkable production for its time. Linton calls attention particularly to Adams's inventiveness and skill in overcoming difficulties in preparing his engraved blocks for the press, and states that his "printing of his own engraving is equal to the best of any time." And of his engraving he says that the best work, such as the *Massacre of the Innocents* and *Jacob's Dream,* is "yet unequaled in this country [this in 1882!] and worthy to rank beside the best of the great old time in England."

The Bible is the most easily accessible of Adams's works and the one by which he is on the whole best known, while the individual print by him probably most often cited with approbation is *The last Arrow,* again after a drawing by Chapman, done in 1837 for the "New York Mirror."

The reference to English influence recalls the stimulating infusion of British blood through the addition of such men as Alfred Bobbett, John Andrew, George H. Thomas (who subsequently returned to England) and Robert Carter ("Frank Leslie") to the ranks of our native engravers.

The increasing skill of our illustrators also counteracted on the engravers. Not only was facsimile reproduction of pencil drawings called for, but washes placed on the block by the artist had to be rendered in lines. That developed interpretation. By 1852, in which year the Putnams issued Irving's "Sketch Book" and the "Knickerbocker History of New York," we had such able craftsmen as H. W. Herrick and E. J. Whitney (both designers also) and B. F. Childs to cut on wood the illustrations in a worthy manner. The "Sketch Book," at its time "the most beautifully got-up book that had appeared," had illustrations by Darley, Hoppin, William Hart and others, engraved by Richardson; the "Knickerbocker History" was illustrated by Darley alone. In the latter book, one may indulge in interesting comparisons of the work of Childs and Herrick (somewhat addicted to inky shadows) and speculations as to the extent to which the manner of the individual engraver may have modified the design of the illustrator. To these and other issues from the presses of the Harpers and the Putnams there came a third strong influence toward the advance of American wood-engraving and book-illustration,—the American Tract Society, to whose activity in producing adequate illustration Wm. James Linton pays deserved tribute. Engraving became more delicate and clear in line, tints became smoother and greater attention was paid to tone. Kinnersley, Annin, Hayes, J. H. Richardson, Benjamin F. Childs, Bogert, Jocelyn, Bobbett, Edmonds and Whitney are names found in the juvenile literature published by the Society. Whitney's work

rather stands out, his engraving of Sir John Gilbert's drawings being particularly noteworthy, and some birds by Childs and Kinnersley after Herrick are of special interest. Furthermore, the Civil War called much illustrated literature into being.

To the names already mentioned are now to be added those of T. W. Strong, D. C. Hitchcock, S. P. Avery, W. Roberts, W. Howland, Lossing & Barritt, Bobbett & Edmonds, Bobbett & Hooper, J. W. and N. Orr, Jocelyn & Annin, Morse, Redding, Orr & Andrews, Richardson & Co., Richardson & Cox, Kingdon & Boyd. The frequent occurrence of firm names indicates a certain commercialization of production.

About the fifties or sixties there came also the use of tint-blocks, in the manner of the old chiaroscuro prints. Much less elaborate, however; it was simply a matter of using an extra block to print one tint,—say red, or blue, or light yellowish brown,—in which some high lights, a few clouds for instance, had been cut out so as to appear white in the print.

Wood-engraving was now the principal reproductive medium through which any graphic art was brought before the greater public. It served for the illustration of books (including the schoolbook with its obvious influence on the impressionable young mind), magazines, weekly illustrated journals, comic papers, and for such an occasional cut as might appear in the daily press, the "Herald" of New York, for instance. The illustrated daily did not exist in those days, but there were sporadic outbursts in the one-issue "blanket sheets."

All this magazine and periodical work necessitated a haste that neutralized much of the good effect which the possibility of larger, broader treatment may have had in counteracting the tendency to mere technical finesse. During the War, especially, illustrators and engravers no doubt had to work against time. A number of drawings made on the field by Leslie's artists, and preserved in the New York Public Library, bear written memoranda to guide those who had to re-draw the sketches on the block in the home office.

While wood-engraving served temporary needs, it also answered more and more the demand for pictorial instruction through the reproduction of works of art as well as of beauty of natural scenery.

In the late sixties and the seventies there came an increasing improvement in technique, which found employment in growing plans for elaborately illustrated books. Gift books, *éditions de luxe* of the poets, volumes of travel and description were issued with a wealth of illustrations. Very likely there were not a few cases in which such undertakings were not well-advised, where the text even did not call for adornment, where the work had no *raison d'être* beyond the production of a seller, an elegant adornment for the drawing-room table. No doubt, too, much of the engraving in these elaborate publications showed "an average of creditable mediocrity." Yet on the whole the tendency toward refinement must have tended also to refine public taste, and the encouragement afforded both designers and engravers no doubt resulted in mutual influence for good between

the two, increasing ability on each side affecting the other.

Linton declaimed vigorously against fineness, against meaningless niggling delicacy, against the weak dexterity that sought distinction in the imitation of the steel-engraving. But he is careful to except from this condemnation the fineness that is necessary and fitting, such as is found in Henry Marsh's exquisitely delicate rendering of the downy, evanescent bloom on the wings of moths, the flabby softness of caterpillars, the horny hardness of beetles, in Harris's "Insects injurious to Vegetation" (1862,—Mallory did some similar work in 1869) or in Closson's *Winifred Dysart* after George Fuller.

A. V. S. Anthony's "tasteful supervision," during 1866-89, of the books published by Osgood of Boston, notably the quarto edition of Longfellow's works, had a good effect on the development of the art. Anthony was himself an engraver of ability and of distinction and elegance in style. Other engravers at this time were Marsh, J. P. Davis, Berlett, Kilburn & Mallory, Morse, Annin, Hayes, and John Andrew, under whose "careful superintendence" the engravings for the book "Pioneers in the Settlement of America" were executed. A noteworthy stimulus to good engraving was afforded by the publication of "Picturesque America" (Appleton: 1872-74), which stands out even by the very size of the undertaking. In those two profusely illustrated volumes, opportunity came to engravers such as John Tinkey, Morse, Harley, Filmer, Halliwell, J. A. Bogert, Langridge, Karst, N. Orr, J. H. Richardson, Anthony, Annin (whose

Walls of the Grand Cañon, after Thomas Moran, is a particularly careful and fine example), F. O. Quartley, Slader, Henry Linton, Measom, Cranston, Robert Hoskin, Palmer, Alfred Harral, and W. J. Linton, the last eight Englishmen, some of whom, at least, became acclimated here. They reproduced the designs of Thomas Moran, Harry Fenn, John D. Woodward and other able draughtsmen. The "calm elegance and delicacy" of Hoskin, who was not carried away by the "new school," was emphasized by S. R. Koehler.

Among the artists of English birth W. J. Linton was prominent. His work has a certain distinction in handling. It is "firm and honest" (which terms he himself uses to express "the first qualification of an engraver") and it exemplifies to a marked degree his theory that the engraver should draw with the graver. It illustrates also his devotion to the expressiveness of the line and its possibilities in rendering form, texture, substance and distances. Those qualities he found disregarded in the attention paid to color and tone, which attained to its highest development in the "new school." Said he: "The art of engraving is discoverable, even by the uninitiated, in the intention of the lines." After all that has been said, one would not look in his engravings for microscopic refinement in his lines. Yet, in spite of a certain direct vigor and boldness ("coarseness" he designates it), his method could produce such an interesting effect of light and tone as *The Mayflower at Sea* after Granville Perkins. In his engravings as in his writings he exerted a strong plea for the engraver as an interpreting artist, yet

his own vigorous individuality found adaptating changes of expression to suit the personality of the various artists upon whose work he was engaged.

The cuts in "Picturesque America" form a remarkably interesting collection of well-engraved landscapes. The student of the art has rich opportunity here for suggestive comparison of differences in treatment. Koehler calls the book an epoch-making work, and quotes Linton as saying that it contains the best landscapes cut in America; he himself adds that the companion work, "Picturesque Europe" (1875), mainly cut in England, was on the whole not so good as the American publication. The "Art Journal" begun by the Appletons in 1875 is also to be noted here, as is the "Aldine, or Art Journal of America" (begun in 1871), which latter included cuts by Davis & Spier, and early work by Juengling and Cole.

The number of talented and adaptative craftsmen, not a few of them of English or German birth, was increasing. At the same time the development of technique brought about a tendency to greater elaboration, to more careful rendering of various textures and of color values. And this was strongly influenced by the alliance between the wood block and the camera. Before there was devised the process of photographing the drawing, painting or object to be reproduced on to the block, the drawing had to be executed directly on the latter with pencil or pen, in lines that had to be cut in facsimile by the engraver. At most, there were added washes which the engraver had to render in lines. But now the original might be executed in any medium and size; pencil, char-

coal, oils or water color might be used. It was simply photographed, reduced in size when necessary, on to the wood block, and the engraver then fairly translated it into his own language. Furthermore, he did not destroy the original by cutting it away as he engraved the block, but the photograph on the block was to him simply a guide, while the original stood before him. The possibilities thus opened up were perceived and seized upon to a greater extent here than anywhere else, and there was formed a distinctly American school of wood-engraving, which enjoyed a successful and lucrative period of brilliant achievement. The wish to render tones and color values led these new engravers to be deeply absorbed in the imitation of textures, to the extent that even the brush-marks, for instance, when paintings were copied, were faithfully reproduced. Henry Marsh's remarkably true delineation of insects (1862) has been referred to. In some blocks after drawings by John La Farge (e.g., for "Songs of the old Dramatists," Boston, 1873, or those illustrating scenes in the Arabian Nights), done with a solid richness of effect, he proved the adaptability of his manner and hand, and of the art that he practised, to quite different problems. Such cuts, and others by other engravers, in a measure lead the way to the daring effects of the new school. In Bogert's *Caught by the Snow* (which appeared in "St. Nicholas") after T. Moran, "a cut full of refinement and delicacy, without sacrifice of effect," there may be seen, for example, how long, sweeping lines, effectively crossed in white, could be made to indicate whirling snow.

CHAPTER VIII

THE "NEW SCHOOL" OF WOOD-ENGRAVING

With the wakening of new aims, of new ideals, there came changes in technique to meet changing demands. Broken, short lines, scattered in whatever direction seemed best fitted to reproduce a given detail, took the place of the more regularly cut and longer sweeps of the graver. The work, as T. D. Sugden puts it, was "more or less stippled and chopped up with dots, etc."

It has been contended that J. G. Smithwick's engraving of C. S. Reinhart's *Drumming out a Tory,* in "Harper's Weekly" for February 3, 1877, cut, as Koehler says, "spot for spot," was the first published application of the new method. Again, Timothy Cole in 1906 wrote James E. Kelly that *The Gillie Boy,* from a drawing by Kelly, was the first thing of this kind which he engraved and the first ever done, and that he "will always regret . . . that his modesty prevented him from signing it." This appeared in "Scribner's" for August, 1877. But, at all events, the illustrations engraved by Frederick Juengling (the "boldest and most inconsiderate experimenter among the pioneers of the new school," says Koehler) for articles dealing with the New York police force, the New York aquarium, "A Railroad in the Clouds," etc., appearing in "Scribner's Monthly" for 1877, made the first obvious, continued assertion of the new point of view. The draw-

Courtesy of the Century Co.

THE HAYWAIN
After John Constable. Wood-engraving by Timothy Cole

ings for these illustrations were executed by James E. Kelly (who subsequently turned to sculpture) in a sweeping manner, slapped down in broad brush-marks, blocked in with a disdain of finish that gave them the effect of results gained "by first intention."

Care was taken to reproduce this style faithfully. The cut *Engineer crossing the chasm over the Rimac* ("Scribner's," August, 1877, p. 449) was the second one executed after Kelly's drawing. The first one had been rejected by A. W. Drake (art director of the magazine) and Kelly as not correctly reproducing the design. Study of impressions from both blocks, in the New York Public Library, shows that much detail, indeed, was missed in the first attempt. The first Kelly illustration that has come to my notice appears on p. 581 of "Scribner's" for March, 1877; it bears no engraver's name, and is comparatively timid. The second, on page 585, is signed with J. G. Smithwick's initials. But, as already said, it is with Juengling's cuts that the new method sets in with full swing.

In this series of Kelly-Juengling cuts, designer and engraver absolutely coincided; here was the opportunity to state the newly discovered possibilities of the boxwood and graver in straightforward, unmistakable terms. One can well imagine that these prints came as a shrill trumpet blast to gather adherents to the banner of the new dispensation. It seems as if artists, engravers, art editors and the public were fairly caught in the whirl of this new-found power, in the intoxication of this delight in astonishing achievement. One strong voice was raised in

warning, that of W. J. Linton. He laid down his principles in an article on "Art in Engraving on Wood," which appeared in the "Atlantic Monthly," and for which he was denounced with some acrimony. (There exists a manuscript reply by Juengling, never published.) Opposition drew from his pen a little volume entitled "Some practical Hints on Wood-Engraving for the Instruction of Reviewers and the Public" (Boston, 1879). Finally he issued his "History of Wood-Engraving in America" (1882). The critical and historical account of the development of the art, particularly during 1840-70, will always make this an indispensable book of reference. The portion relating to the work of the "new school" is of interest and value on account of the comments on the numerous examples given. Linton, while evidently striving to be fair (he has plenty of good things to say, finds much to praise), protested vehemently against an undue and slavish devotion to textures and tones, to ultra-refinement. He found, too often, the essential sacrificed to the unessential, while at the same time the very distinction of substance aimed at was missed. As an instance, among many, he pointed out Juengling's remarkably clever *Professor,* after Duveneck, with lip, cheek, eye, hair, coat and background "all of the same wooden texture." As a result, says he, lines of demarcation indicated by differences in color are lost, and the *Professor's* cranium—the hair having faded into the background—appears misshapen and deeply gashed. He deplored so much real talent in all this new work misapplied, "spent on endeavors to rival steel line-engraving or etching, in follow-

ing brush-marks, in pretending to imitate crayon work, charcoal or lithography."

It was the tendency to render substance rather than spirit, to imitate brush-marks rather than to imitate essentials, to which he objected. He insisted on the importance of the line, and of "drawing with the graver." That implied, with Linton, despite a certain flexibility of technique, an adherence to some conventions, a translation into the language of the engraver rather than an interpretation.

On the other hand, Timothy Cole quite recently, speaking of the changes brought about in modern wood-engraving, says: "At last it became apparent that the old conventions were inadequate and that they had to go by the board. The line *had* to be tampered with in order faithfully to render the qualities characteristic of the artist's painting. In other words, the painting came to be deemed more important than the exploitation of the engraver's skill in the production of lines. All the old conception of reproducing textures—a certain sort of line for this and another sort of line for that—had to go." All very true, yet it was "exploitation of the engraver's skill" which called forth Linton's severest strictures. It is a question whether Cole, in the maturity of his power, has not to a certain extent approached Linton's point of view.

As to photographing on the block, Linton points out that it was done in the London "Cornhill" days, long before the advent of our "new school." And when met by the statement that "the freest handling is not attain-

able [by the designer] on the limited surface of a block," he asks: "Was Holbein cramped when he drew the Day of Judgment on a block three inches by two?" and concludes "There is an art in drawing on wood." To which one may add the graphic testimony of Adolph Menzel, who, being limited to twelve square centimetres in his illustrations to the works of Frederick the Great, drew an introductory vignette representing a cupid holding a huge compass, with the legend "XII centimetres! Maximum!" and underneath "Hic . . . hic salta."

Linton made a strong plea for the status of the engraver as a thinking artist, who must interpret the orginal in his own language and way, and not slavishly imitate it *ad absurdum*. When the engravers are "drilled into superfineness," says he, "their work is scarcely distinguishable. This utter subordination of the engraver destroys his individuality. Having no individuality of his own, will he be better able to appreciate the individuality (the real personality, I do not say only the outer clothes) of the painter?"

The battle was fought and is long over; many of the actors in it are dead, most of those living have turned to other fields of activity. We to-day will probably agree that there was at least some basis of common sense and of esthetic reason in Linton's strictures, to which Juengling wrote a reply, never published, but preserved.

The late Sylvester Rosa Koehler summed up the matter in sane language in his German monograph on wood-engraving, already referred to. American wood-engraving, he wrote, began to go its own way; the evolution was

"justified, indeed necessary." He continues: "Linton bases on the erroneous assumption that wood-engraving through its material and its tools is irrevocably confined within the limits of what has already been accomplished," while, in fact, "wood-engraving must adjust itself to the character of contemporary art." And that contemporary art, that new movement of the seventies, he points out, was under the influence of France, of the "reign of technique and color," and in its turn naturally influenced wood-engraving and illustration, so that the purely technical side, "the how rather than the what," became predominant. The delicate pencil drawing had already given way to a great extent to wash drawings on the block, and now came large paintings, photographed in reduced form on the block. "Here, then, the wood-engraver was confronted by a new problem:—he was no longer to draw, he was to paint!" Much silly and ugly work resulted. "The boldness of the manner degenerated into coarseness; emancipation from abandoned academic rules seemed best proven by impudently violating all laws of nature and art, and particularly all demands of beauty." Gradations of tone and color, textures, the quality of pulsating air, all the things which the painter rendered through differences in handling of the brush, the superposition of layers of color, had to be translated by the engraver with his one instrument, the burin. Koehler cites particularly a cut, in the "Art Journal" for 1880, after a color sketch by Gaugengigl, simply an attempt at harmonizing certain colors, form being neglected. But he cites also Juengling's reproduction of Monticelli as "a veritable triumph

of wood-engraving." The imitative spirit went so far as the indication of the grain of the paper in white spots in water colors. "In the one-sided striving for tonality . . . the textures of the materials represented are but too often entirely overlooked."

Koehler's conclusion is that all these efforts eventually bore good fruit. The final impression that he gives is that in the belief in certain underlying eternal laws of fitness and beauty, and of the necessary integrity of the line, he and Linton are after all on common ground. Linton ends his "History" by saying of the men of the "new school": "Notwithstanding all my censures, the revival of wood-engraving is in their hands. They will outgrow their mistakes."

When all is said, the fact remains that the "new school" did its work and did it well. After we have eliminated what was ill-advised or prompted by an overweening confidence, a somewhat one-sided devotion to one principle, so very much remains that we can continue to feel great and justified pride in the results of the movement. It left the mark of its achievement indelibly inscribed in the annals of wood-engraving of all time. Not a few of the engravers identified with this "new school" were of foreign birth and early foreign training, but the traditional assimilativeness of Uncle Sam was exemplified here, too. Their talents were enlisted by an impetus born of American soil, or at all events carried to its highest development here, and it was adapted in its expression to meet the needs engendered by that impulse. It is an honorable list that can be given here, a list of

engravers including many whom we can class as Americans without any reference to foreign origin other than is made by the form of name.

Frederick Juengling was "a bold, undaunted experimenter, an enthusiast," of whom S. R. Koehler wrote a "Memoir," 1890. Frank Juengling's block after Whistler's dry-point of Riault, the engraver, showed what the imitative care of the "new school" could accomplish in straight line facsimile work. John G. Smithwick was for some time in partnership with Frank French, among whose works was a volume of "Home Fairies and Heart Flowers" (1886), heads of children from his own drawings, with text by Miss Sangster. Richard Alexander Müller's ability was well exemplified in *On the old Sod,* from the painting by William Magrath. And there were furthermore S. S. Kilburn, William H. Morse, E. Schladitz, H. W. Peckwell, Richard George Tietze, William Miller, W. M. Aikman, S. G. Putnam, J. W. Evans, F. H. Wellington, F. W. Putnam, Victor Bernström, E. H. Del'Orme, Van Ness, J. H. E. Whitney, M. Haider and Miss Caroline Powell. All craftsmen with whom technical ability and artistic feeling produced the best results. Miss Powell, like Mrs. Anna Botsford Comstock (devoted particularly to natural history subjects), studied at the engraving school for women at Cooper Institute, New York City. This school was established in 1859 and continued until 1890 or '91, being managed successively by Robert O'Brien (1859-67), Linton (1868-70), Miss Charlotte B. Cogswell (1871-80) and J. P. Davis (1881—).

Thomas D. Sugden, an old engraver who learned his art with T. W. Strong, and who for years was in charge of the block and plate department of the Century Co., has compiled a manuscript volume, "Remarks on Wood Engraving, by One-o-them" (1904), unconventional comments accompanying a number of proofs. An enthusiastic devotee of the art he practised and loves, he points out such characteristics as the effective manner in which the lines follow the swirl of the waves in a cut by Tinkey of a storm on a coast, the "soft delicacy and sunlight" that pervade certain work by Davis, the method of using perpendicular lines to represent water used by Juengling, Chadwick and E. Anderson, for instance, in contrast to the horizontally lined lilies floating on its surface, in engravings by the last two. Sugden is responsible also for a droll 4-page "History of Wood Engraving in the United States in a Nutshell," 1903, set up and printed by himself in only four or five copies.

Not a few of the engravers became identified with some specialty in style or subject, or became best known through some particular engraving. Thomas Johnson, who excelled in portraits, won praise for "calm and appropriate treatment" and "effective yet mild light effect." Gustav Kruell long devoted himself to portraiture, producing highly creditable work such as the vigorous head of Fletcher Harper, and the smaller heads in the series of musicians by himself and Johnson (1878). In time he developed a style of strength and distinction, in which a proper appreciation of tried convention and

tradition is modified by a sane adoption and adaptation of new methods. His large portraits of Wendell Phillips, W. T. Sherman, Robert E. Lee, Beethoven, Darwin (with small "side whiskers"), Webster, Hawthorne and Lincoln (clean-shaven) gave him much opportunity for personal expression because he was not interpreting another artist, but rendering in the richness of his burin-stroke the matter-of-fact truthfulness of the camera's point of view. In the white-line modeling of his faces the personalities he pictures rise out of the impersonal reflection of the photograph into a fresh and most lively characterization, into a new significance, I had almost said.

Frank S. King, who later turned to engraving on copper, numbered among his blocks such quite different undertakings as a series after Burne-Jones, a portrait of Modjeska after Carolus Duran, *The Fog* after F. S. Church and finished productions akin to Marsh's insects, for instance a peacock's feather ("Harper's Monthly," 1878) from a drawing by W. H. Gibson. His *Lobster Pot* ("Scribner's Magazine") won strong approval from Linton because "the rock and the water are really distinct substances, and the lobsters have the form and texture of lobsters."

W. B. Closson apparently delighted and certainly excelled in the reproduction of hazy, vaguely defined effects such as appear in the lightness and delicacy of his engraving from a drawing by William Rimmer (*Magdalen*), with its effect of soft, broken, crayon or charcoal lines, or even more in his excellent *Winifred Dysart* after

George Fuller, cut for the "American Art Review." When, later on, he engraved blocks from his own designs, this preference for not too sharply circumscribed forms was still evident.

Elbridge Kingsley gives rise to similar observation. He was particularly happy in presenting the rich, succulent foliage of Rousseau or Diaz, or the joyous hymn to nature that Corot sang, or D. W. Tryon's dreams of misty evening. In like manner he made of his engravings executed from nature, transcripts of mood rather then of cold form, visions rather than views. He did fifteen illustrations "engraved directly from nature" for Whittier's "Poems of Nature."

Ernst Heinemann successfully reflected the airy, translucent manner of F. S. Church in that picture of a mermaid riding on a horse dimly outlined in a swirling wave, or in *Nymphe des Eaux* ("L'Art," November, 1889). But he showed also command of entirely different manners in the *Guitar Player* of Frans Hals, *The Studio* after T. Ribot (medal, Buffalo Exposition of 1901), or his best, the Plantin proof-readers. Influenced by the spirit of the new school, he was not carried away by its vagaries.

John P. Davis, though one of the older men, changed his style with the times, and produced such blocks as the *Dartmouth Moors* after R. Swain Gifford, in which Linton, while criticising on technical grounds, finds the tone "of admirable quality." He, a link between the old and the new, was the last secretary of the Society of American Wood Engravers.

Cole and Wolf, working to-day in the full maturity of their powers, have developed each an absolutely distinct style. Theirs is a manner of expression born of a long experience which engendered a remarkable development of technique, placed always fully at the service of the particular artist whose spirit was being drawn from the canvas at a given time. That is the essential, the salient feature in the work of these two men, the regard for the personality behind the canvas. They are concerned not so much with that delight in the power over tools that may lead to a camera-like imitation of every brush-mark or sweep of the palette-knife, but rather in the transposition, into the language of the burin, of what the painter has said with brush and color. In the case of Cole, who was called to "Scribner's Magazine" by its art editor, A. W. Drake, as early as 1875, this is done with a simplicity of method and a broad, bold directness of expression that give his translations a personal distinction. They bring us into touch with the thoughtful contemplativeness that grasps and enters into the great principles of life actuating the soul that have found voice in the technical mastery of the painting before it. It is that which constitutes the importance of his series after the Italian, Dutch, English, Spanish and French masters, begun in 1883 under commission from the Century Co. One can well understand that such a sympathetically critical temperament should be attracted by the art of other days, which he has illumined also in written comment. "He handles his tool," says Miss E. L. Cary, "as a painter handles his brush, with the same freedom and

dexterous control, and the same variation of stroke to meet various problems." Cole has shown manifold resources, "from the wildest unbridledness to the faultlessly classical line," as Koehler once said. But his art has long since become clarified into the permanent expression of calm and serene sureness to-day characteristic of this master.

Where Cole impresses us as a thoughtful interpreter speaking to us in the rich tones of his own language, in Wolf we find suavity and *raffinement* dominant. Wolf, devoted particularly to the moderns, brings to his task sensitive adaptativeness, discriminating understanding and distinguished skill. These have served to disclose or recall the beauties of art of various periods. In recent years he has copied, in a spirit in harmony with the intentions of the artists, a Corot for Mr. George A. Hearn; Jonghers's portrait of W. T. Evans; the portrait of a girl (Hispanic-American Society) and Balthasar Carlos (Metropolitan Museum), both by Velasquez; Ver Meer's *Young Woman at a Window;* Whistler's *Miss Alexander* and Manet's *Boy with a Sword.* As an interpreter of contemporary American figure painting, he has reflected the best spirit of that art in terms of his own and with sympathetic appreciation. That is evidenced in blocks after J. Alden Weir, Horatio Walker, J. W. Alexander, W. M. Chase, E. Tarbell. James G. Huneker said of him: "He has attacked all schools, all styles, from Frans Hals to Homer Martin, from interiors by Vermeer to the subtle tonal graduations of Whistler's mother. . . . The line . . . is clean and significant. He has the

From "Harper's Magazine." Copyright 1907, by Harper & Brothers

GIRL AND PEONIES

After Irving R. Wiles. Wood-engraving by Henry Wolf

sense of tactile values. Vitality there is . . ., above all virility in company with poetic distinction."

Honors in plenty have come to both of these men. Cole has won gold medals at the expositions in Chicago 1892, Paris 1900, Buffalo 1901 and St. Louis 1904, as well as other distinctions. Wolf was awarded various medals and other honors, including a gold medal at the Salon of 1895 and silver medals at Paris (1900) and Rouen (1903).

Most of the engravers of the "new school" were identified with the "Society of American Wood Engravers," which issued in 1882, through the Harpers, a "Portfolio" which remains a noteworthy monument to that period of brilliant achievement. There are preserved, in New York, the diplomas which the Society won as a body at the International Exhibition of Art in Berlin, 1891, and at the International Exhibition of Graphic Arts, Vienna, 1895. (In 1894 the Society again appeared in Berlin, its exhibit at the Chicago Exposition being shown in the National Gallery in the German capital.) Honors came also to individual members at the Paris Exposition of 1889: a gold medal to Kingsley, silver medals to Closson and J. P. Davis, bronze medals to W. M. Aikman and S. G. Putnam, honorable mention to Kruell, Wolf and Henry Davidson, as is set down in the catalogue of the "Exhibition of the Society of American Wood-Engravers" held in the Boston Museum, 1890. A like exhibition was held at the Grolier Club, New York City, in the same year.

While the general movement exemplified by these vari-

ous individualities was given a sort of official expression in the "Portfolio" of the Society of American Wood-Engravers, already referred to, there was also other collective presentation. The Scribners brought out "A Portfolio of Proof Impressions selected from Scribner's Monthly and Saint Nicholas" (1879), 102 plates; a second series with the same title (1881), 50 plates; and a selection from both: "Selected Proofs from the First and Second Portfolios of Illustrations from Scribner's Monthly and Saint Nicholas" (1881), 57 plates. The first series included Cole's *Gillie Boy,* which has been spoken of, as well as his engraving of Whistler's *Study in White,* and Linton's *Grand Cañon of the Colorado* after T. Moran. Still another collection of proofs was the "Longfellow Portfolio" (1881) of seventy-five plates, issued by Houghton, Mifflin & Co.

An interesting undertaking was also the edition of Poe's "Raven" (1884) with illustrations by Doré cut on wood by Americans: Juengling, Claudius, Tietze, W. Zimmermann, Kruell, French, Bernström, Hoskin, R. A. Müller, King, G. J. Buechner, R. Staudenbaur and R. Schelling. Huneker asserts that Doré's French engravers made everything of his work, while the Americans engraved him too literally, the inference being, of course, that they showed up his weaknesses instead of glossing them over.

It is a matter for congratulation that there are various public collections of the productions of this American school. The Boston Museum of Fine Arts, the Congressional Library at Washington and the New York

Public Library have formed particularly large and fine general collections, and there are others on the walls of the Young Men's Christian Association in Orange, N. J., in the Newark Public Library and in the public library of Springfield, Mass. ("Aston collection"). The work of certain individual artists may be studied in collections of noteworthy fullness in certain places. Thus, W. T. Evans has presented to the National Gallery at Washington a set of proofs of Wolf's engravings, and another may be seen at the Lotos Club in New York City. In Mt. Holyoke College there is a collection of the works of Elbridge Kingsley (catalogue by M. E. Dwight, 1901), and another selection is in the print room of the New York Library. This New York institution has also the various series of Cole's "Masters" in selected impressions, and a noteworthy collection of nearly five hundred pieces by Juengling. The latter includes a number of interesting proofs of small sections of various blocks, pulled on little scraps of paper; thus, the heads of John Brown and one of the soldiers and various hands, feet and other portions in *John Brown going to Execution,* after Thomas Hovenden, are each repeated a number of times on bits of paper an inch and a half square, or less, showing how the engraver progressively proved various portions of his block. So, too, a section of his *How it happened* after M. A. Woolf. Henry Wolf once told me that, as far as he knew, Juengling and he were the only ones to practise this method. In this Juengling collection there are also some impressions from metal casts of engraved wood blocks, which casts

were, of course, intaglio plates like etchings, instead of relief blocks.

Adequate records of the achievements of this interesting and brilliant phase of American art are thus preserved in various places.

CHAPTER IX

PAINTER-WOOD-ENGRAVING

THE development of reproductive wood-engraving which the United States witnessed in the last quarter of the nineteenth century, was carried to what was apparently the limit of its possibilities in the suggestion of tones and textures. The glorious period of success was as remarkable in its product as it was short in duration. The photo-mechanical processes, particularly the now ubiquitous half-tone, swept all before them, and only two noteworthy members of the group of men who made American wood-engraving famous—Cole and Wolf—are to-day still regularly practising the art as a reproductive process. Heinemann, Miller, E. H. Del'Orme, F. H. Wellington, Chadwick, S. G. Putnam and others entered the service of the photo-mechanical processes which supplanted wood-engraving, and added to the plate of the half-tone that engraving by hand which emphasizes light and shade and corrects the dull uniformity of the screen. Frank French has written magazine articles illustrated by engravings by himself after his own designs. Thomas Johnson executed a number of portraits in etching. F. S. King and Walter Aikman have turned to copper-engraving, notably in plates done for the Society of Iconophiles, portraits of American notables by King (whose "printer's devil" plate is noted among collectors) and copies of

old New York views by Aikman. Oscar Grosch turned for a while to the engraving of his own designs on copper and to original etching. One might search out other like instances and extend the list of those who are exercising their artistic training in special fields other than that with which they were once prominently identified.

A general resumption of the art of wood-engraving as a means of reproducing paintings does not seem probable. So, at all events, many of us have thought, but more recently experiments have been pointed to as showing that the shallow half-tone plate will not generally give as good an electrotype as will the wood block with its possibilities of deeper lines. Furthermore, the block, as William Aspinwall Bradley points out, gives clean-cut, sharply defined printing surfaces, instead of the monotonous, uniform mesh of the half-tone screen which, besides its deadly mechanical effect, is apt to smudge in printing. It is, of course, this same mechanical effect and the absence of absolute high light that has led to the retouching of half-tone plates before turning them over to the printer. Bradley, when art editor of the "Delineator," put his idea to the test, in engravings by F. H. Wellington (died 1911) and others.

The decay of wood-engraving has been deplored in print and speech not a few times, and not infrequently in apparent forgetfulness of the fact that not only will necessity insure the survival of that which fits its case, but in this case the revival is already with us. But the art has arisen in a new form, or rather there is a renascence of an old form. We may or may not believe that there will

ever again be a general use of wood-engraving for the purpose of reproducing paintings or drawings or photographs. But there is no doubt that an increasing number of artists have been turning to the wood block, as they have to etching or lithography, as a means of original, direct expression. Painter-wood-engraving is coming to its own.

In this country, the desire for original work first took the form of engraving direct from nature by some of the men who had helped to bring reproductive wood-engraving to its high state of development. The original work of Kingsley, who has printed some of his blocks in colors, and of Closson has already been spoken of. Others, likewise long known as discerning interpreters of the designs and paintings of others,—the late Victor Bernström, Henry Wolf, Frank French,—have felt the impulse of original creation and brought to its service their long training and artistic temperament. Wolf has seen "Lower New York in a Mist" and shown it with a delicacy, a "silvery tone," that recalls Whistler's rhapsody concerning the fairyland which London at night opened up to him. Bernström has some original blocks to his credit,—landscapes. Wm. G. Watt, too, has recently engraved his own designs on the wood. In the result of all these there is generally completeness of effect, the natural outcome of the engraver's previous activity. The spaces of their composition are filled with lines to indicate tone or local color.

In the hands of the artists who are not professional wood-engravers, but who turn temporarily to wood and

graver as one of the means through which to find an outlet for what they see and feel, the medium is usually employed in a somewhat different way, although its characteristic nature is respected and understandingly utilized. Here, there is apt to be indication rather than fulfilment, decorative effect of line or space rather than insistence on detail. The rendition of form is simplified. Simple designs, flat tints of gray or black or color, are generally used. Particularly noticeable are a reversion to the line of the facsimile engraving (as we see it in cuts after Dürer, for instance), with occasionally a touch of archaism; and the influence of the Japanese chromo-xylograph, or wood-engraving in color. But these influences, in the work which is worthy of serious consideration, appear in assimilation, not in imitation. The key-note in these prints is modernity; they are of to-day, and none the less original because based on experience of the past.

A number of European artists have exemplified the widely varying possibilities of individual expression in this art of simple, straightforward and yet subtle effects, and it is a cause for gratification that some Americans have likewise begun to avail themselves of its resources. Even a cursory examination of all this work will show how responsive this art can be to the personal touch. Yet all this display of variety in conception, treatment and result is based primarily on an understanding of the peculiar nature of the tools used, on a recognition of both the range and the limits of their inherent potentiality. To know how to produce effects without torturing the

instrument beyond its proper functions is as necessary in art, as it is in literature to produce word-pictures without straining the language.

The few American artists who have heeded the appeal of the wood block have tested its possibilities in quite varied styles and moods. And the result is most satisfactory where the artist does not lose his better self in the pursuit of the close imitation of other models, where foreign influences are absorbed in a healthy manner while the artist's own personality predominates. This is apparent, for instance, in the works of Arthur W. Dow, among them the *Ipswich Prints,* which he himself calls "simple color themes," of which an exhibition was held at the Boston Museum in 1895. In them the principles of color-printing from wood blocks are well illustrated. The late Ernest F. Fenollosa, writing of Dow's experiments in printing pictures in a few flat tints, emphasized the characteristics of the process, its limits, its salient features, the delicacy which lies in its very simplicity. "The artist," said he, "is as free with his blocks as the painter with his palette. . . . Pigment washed upon the wood, and allowed to press the sheet with a touch as delicate as a hand's caress, clings shyly only to the outer fibers, . . . leaving the deep wells of light in the valleys, the whiteness of the paper's inner heart, to glow up through it and dilute its solid color with a medium of pure luminosity." And farther: "This method . . . strengthens the artist's constructive sense in that it forces him to deal with simple factors. It stimulates the faculty of design. . . . Mr. Dow's

application of it to Western expression and use remains an epoch-making event."

It is this Western expression which forms the interest of these prints, the independent adaptation of the Japanese technique for the presentation of a point of view which carries no hint of mere imitation, but is the outcome of personal conviction. The Japanese manner is very much more insisted upon in the case of Miss Helen Hyde, who, furthermore, has lived in Japan and chooses Japanese subjects. She has presented some delicate and subdued color harmonies, such as we see them in old Japanese prints as they appear to-day, with the colors toned down by time or exposure. Yet with all this there is in her pictures an element of Occidental observation. To a Japanese, indeed, her work may seem strange, despite the fact that we are told that she won a prize in Tokio in competition with native artists. The Japanese form is there, rather than the spirit. The gesture is Japanese, the language is English. And it is well that Miss Hyde, despite her Japanese robes, does speak her mother tongue —though with an accent. While Miss Hyde is attracted by figure-subjects and flat tints, B. J. Olssen-Nordfeldt was evidently influenced by the landscapes of Hokusai and Hiroshige, and insists somewhat more obviously on the line. And in the latter he seems to see picturesque rather than decorative possibilities,—foamy wave tops circumscribed into rigidity by curly lines which yet in themselves have the restlessness of irregular rhythms. He gets away farther than Miss Hyde from the land of Fuji Yama, despite the still evident influence of its art.

An entirely different point of view is evidenced in the work of Howard McCormick, rugged, yet aiming in its way at full pictorial effect, covering the surface of the block with lines. Still, his is not the manner of the professional wood-engraver, and not suited to microscopical examination any more than the impressionistic canvases of Monet or Pissarro or Sisley. It is a method well adapted in its vigor to his reproduction of the bust of Lincoln in which that homely, honest character has been pictured by the virile directness of Gutzon Borglum. Usually, however, he engraves after his own designs, as in some magazine covers, or in his series of Mexican subjects. In these latter he handles the graver (burin) with the sweep of the brush, using legitimate burin methods, but applying them with a free, flickering touch which gives a noteworthy impression of life and action and pulsating tone.

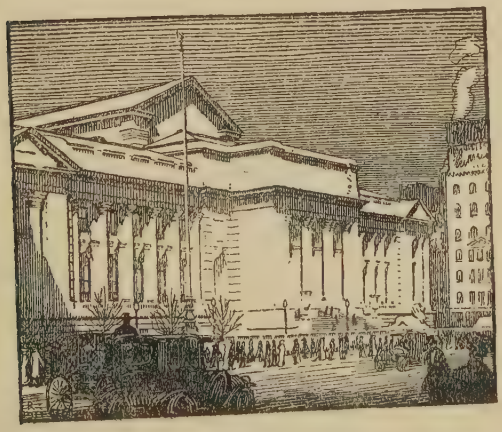
Where McCormick fairly hews out his way in a distinct style of his own, A. Allen Lewis shows a touch of frank archaism, joined, however, to an equally honest individuality of expression. His frequent use of tints of color, flat, but with the mottling of delicate variations produced by the texture of the wood, is reminiscent of the old " chiaroscuro " engravings. It is merely a matter of method, however; the work is essentially of to-day. Rud. Ruzicka fairly bathes his black line designs, executed with both vigor and lightness, in a light-brown tint relieved by white lights. The effect invests his metropolitan scenes, be it a skyscraper or *A bit of old New York,* with a delightful appeal to the imagination, personal in its

presentation. W. F. Hopson, like Lewis, has been particularly identified with the art of the book-plate, as have also Hugh M. Eaton and George Wolfe Plank, of Philadelphia, chief inspirer of the short-lived "Butterfly" quarterly.

In contrast to this art of the small there is the opposite, as to size, in the field of the print, the poster. It was once, before the more ambitious efforts of lithography, wholly the province of the wood-cutter, though a product, then, of rough-and-ready effects. The materials used may have seemed unpromising: wood-carver's tools ground down to the length of a boxwood-graver, the blade being grooved to prevent splitting in the wood, and very soft basswood, quite free from knots. Yet James Britton employed them with bold and broad effect in several vigorously drawn posters for the Connecticut League of Art Students, for a studio concert, etc. They bring us back to the old truth, that the artist who really has something to say will find his own way of saying it, and will win the medium to his style.

All this is not so very much, quantitatively. Its significance lies in the effort to use this oldest of the reproductive media as a painter-art. Yet it is simply one of the forms of graphic art which offer by-paths for incursions which are not undertaken too often by American artists. The present gratifying revival of painter-etching in the United States is expressed almost entirely in the activity of those who make a specialty of etching; the painter who etches occasionally is rare indeed. Lithography is almost entirely neglected. Abroad—in France,

England, Germany and Austria—one finds much more active utilization of such possibilities on the part of artists, who turn from canvas or modeling clay to the etching plate, the lithographic stone, or the wood block (not to speak of forms of applied art such as interior decoration or the designing of furniture—or advertisements). They bring the personal note which forms the value and attraction of such efforts to present the objects of vision in various artistic forms. Such occasional changes of activity must provide a veritable safety-valve, an opportunity for the " other view," a chance of escape from the " usual thing " when that threatens to become too much a matter of manner, a road of return to the artist's own self.



CHAPTER X

LITHOGRAPHY: A BUSINESS, AN ART

It was a foregone conclusion that lithography should find its greatest development here through its commercial possibilities. The record of accomplishment in strictly original lithography is not extensive, while commercial lithography attained to a noteworthy degree of excellence. Nevertheless, the first attempts in the art, which had already been taken up enthusiastically by artists in Germany and France, were made here, too (in 1819-20), by a painter, Bass Otis. His two little drawings have little to recommend them but the interest of priority. They gave no hint of the possibilities exploited even at that time by Senefelder, Winter, Girodet-Trioson, Vernet, Guérin, Gros and others abroad. Our distinguished countryman in England, Benjamin West, had tried both crayon and pen on the stone as early as 1801 (*John the Baptist* and *He is not here*) and 1802 (*This is my beloved Son*), and his son Raphael signed a study of an old tree in 1802. But over here we had, apparently, not been in a hurry to test the newly-discovered medium. Yet Dr. S. L. Mitchell, according to the "National Intelligencer" of Jan. 8, 1808, had a lithographic stone and ink in his possession at that time.

However, after Otis's unassuming attempts, the facility of this new reproductive process evidently aroused some

The two earliest known lithographs produced in the United States.
Both by Bass Otis.

interest. At all events, hardly seven years after Otis's essays appeared, Rembrandt Peale was awarded the silver medal of the Franklin Institute for his copy, on stone, of his own portrait of Washington. And we need not cite local pride or a backward state of art in this country as an explanation of the award. Peale really, in this work, showed an understanding of the possibilities of the stone which is worthy of note, and which, by the way, is not so apparent in other lithographs from his hand,—the larger head of Washington, and the smaller portraits of John Warren, M.D., Rev. John E. Abbott, etc. "I was among the first of the artists," said he, "who employed this admirable method of multiplying drawings. . . . In 1826 I went to Boston and devoted myself for some time to lithographic studies, and executed a number of portraits and other subjects, and finally a large drawing of my portrait of Washington." His first lithograph was a portrait of Byron, done, like others of his drawings, for Pendleton.

However, painter-lithography, as an autographic art practised by the artist similarly to etching, could not, from the nature of things, find much expression in a land in which the conditions of social and political development left little time for the cultivation of art for its own sake. Still, the artistic interest was not entirely wanting, even in commercial work, when men such as Henry Inman (who formed a partnership with C. G. Childs), Thomas Sully, Rembrandt Peale, and Thomas Doughty were taking part in the development of the new process. As a matter of fact, artistic lithography and the commercial

product cannot always be separated in the work of these early days. Much of it was signed, thus representing distinct personalities, instead of bearing only the trade-mark of a firm name. But one finds also the signatures of geniuses deservedly unknown.

The commercial importance of the new reproductive process was evident from the beginning. As early as 1825 John Pendleton was engaged in the business of lithographic printing in Boston, and Anthony Imbert in New York, and it was not long before firms sprang up in Philadelphia and other cities. Much of the work produced was poor.

Maverick, the New York engraver, busied himself also with lithography, one of his works being *Daughter of Charles B. Calmody* (1829) after Lawrence. Among the prints he issued is a view of Wall Street, New York City, the rarity and interest of which is in inverse proportion to its artistic value. It is signed *H. R.*, which letters presumably stand for Hugh Reinagle, who signed in full a view of St. Paul's, in the same city, printed by Pendleton.

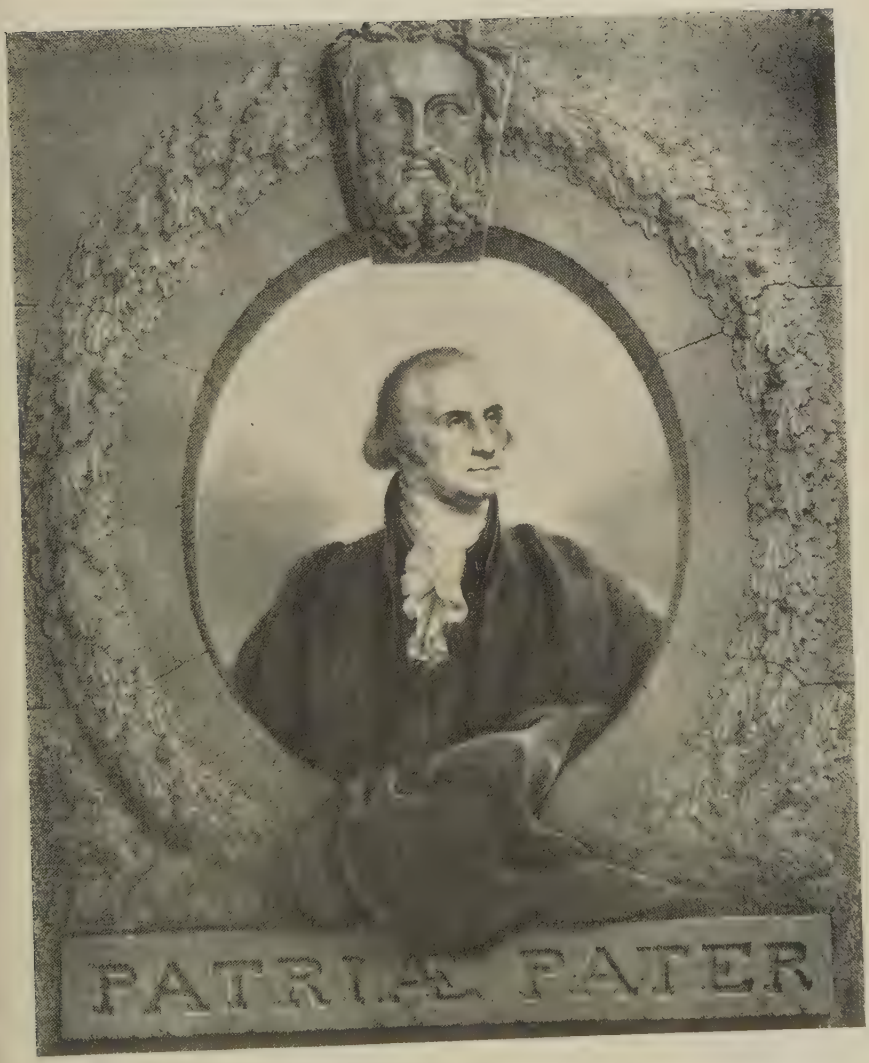
In Philadelphia, Cephas G. Childs similarly practised lithography as well as copper-engraving. He became associated in 1831 with Henry Inman, a versatile painter, with facility and a certain swing in his crayon drawings on stone. These include portraits, a view of Mount Vernon in which the branches of trees outline a spectral Washington, and the particularly well done *Scraps* (1831). Of the last, the figure of a little nude boy on a stone, a graceful and delicate bit of crayon work, is

especially noteworthy. Thomas Sully's portrait of R. Walsh jun.—*C. G. Childs dir.*—was also quite well executed.

The services of other artists were enlisted in the cause of the "grease crayon." Such were four who occasionally drew for Imbert: Archibald Robertson (*Grand Canal Celebration, 1825*), A. J. Davis the architect (whose New York City views are well known to collectors), George Catlin the Indian painter, and David Claypoole Johnston (whose work is characterized by the colorless uniform gray of his portrait of Webster, after Chester Harding, 1831). Another artist who drew at least one view (*Niagara Falls*) for Imbert was G. Marsiglia, N.A. Still other painters gave some attention to lithography, but not much of their work calls for special commendation. This may be due to a defective knowledge of drawing, or to insufficient study of the technique of lithography, or both. At all events, Lambdin's portrait of Robert Owen has a decidedly amateurish aspect, and the *Tomb of Washington, at Mount Vernon,* by the landscape painter Thomas Doughty, done *from a drawing made on the spot by J. R. Smith,* and printed in 1832 by Childs and Inman, is not prominently good. Doughty, by the way, did *from nature and on stone* some fairly acceptable animal studies (*Summer Duck* and *Newfoundland Dog*) for Childs and Inman, as did J. G. Clonney, the *genre* painter, somewhat later, for Mesier. Thomas Cole also made attempts on the stone, notably *The Good Shepherd,* with a delicate background of trees and clouds, published in 1849 with the inscription *to the artists of*

America this print is respectfully dedicated by Maria Cole, 1842, and printed in tints by Sarony & Major. Finally, John William Hill, one of the American circle of Pre-Raphaelites, signed *Hackett's Town* (1845) and *Rockland Lake,* both drawn on the stone for Endicott & Co.

Meanwhile there was an increase in professional lithographic artists, men who devoted their energies more continuously to this specialty. They, too, often signed their work, thus in a measure accenting the dignity of the artist in contrast with the lithographic firm name, although often, indeed, there was little to dignify by the name of art. Thomas Edwards, of Boston, was one of the first to draw in the crayon manner, and in portraits such as the one of *James Tilton, M.D.,* the hesitation, the want of familiarity with the new medium is quite apparent. His *Jacob Perkins* (1826, printed by Pendleton) is already more free in execution. F. Alexander, William Hoogland and J. R. Pennimann were other Boston artists, and the garrulous William Dunlap commends the work of John Bisbee and John Crawley Junior, who were employed by Endicott and Swett. I have seen no prints signed by either Bisbee or Crawley. A picture of Washington Hotel, Broadway, New York (1833) was *drawn from nature and on stone by Moses Sweett,* while the name is properly spelled on other prints, such as those in the "American Turf Register" (volume 1, 1830), or the *Irving . . . addressing his Countrymen after an Absence of 17 years.* Other names met with are R. Cooke, J. M. Roberts and Charles Toppan under



WASHINGTON
Lithograph by Rembrandt Peale

some Imbert prints, W. Ball, W. Kelly, P. Hoas, E. Jones, according to my notes, which characterize their work as "poor." The interest in all this is antiquarian, rather than artistic. There were furthermore J. H. Colon (Inauguration of Washington, about 1830), A. Hoffy (Tompkins Blues of New York, City Troop of Philadelphia, colored plates by P. S. Duval, 1839) and R. J. Rayner (Portrait of Washington after Stuart). G. Lehman, like Hubard (portrait of Andrew Jackson, 1833), lithographed for Childs & Inman; I have seen a flamingo drawn by him from nature, of a noteworthy delicacy, as well as a lithotint in colors, *The Pirates' Well.* In the thirties some of Pendleton's prints were signed by J. H. Bufford, who later was in business for himself. His drawing of Inman's portrait of Wirt (Pendleton) is the best by him that I have seen.

Signatures increase as we go on in chronological sequence: Bouvier, Penniman (1844), C. W. Burton (panoramic view of New York, 1849). F. J. Fritsch's pretentious pictures of the *38th Regiment, Jefferson Guards* (1843) and the *First Division* (1844) both portray New York State Artillery organizations with the impartial inclusiveness that Banning Cock's company felt should have been accorded them in Rembrandt's famous "Night Watch." The interest in these two colored prints lies, however, in the fact that the first shows the City Hall and the second Castle Garden, and for that reason they were included in the exhibition of rare and important views of New York held in that city's library in 1912. Charles Gildemeister signed a View of the

Narrows and a View of the Hudson River from Fort Lee, both published by Seitz in 1851; G. W. Fasel drew *Heroic Deeds of former Times,* six scenes in Indian warfare (Seitz: 1851), and Bachmann a view of New York City. Gustavus Pfau and Hardtmuth, who both did portraits for Nagel & Weingärtner, J. H. Sherwin (1858) and C. Koppel (Jefferson Davis, bust portrait, nearly life-size, 1865) may also serve to indicate not necessarily importance, but the prevalence of signed work.

The enlarging proportion of German names in this later work will be noted, as it will also in the record of firms. But much of the earliest work showed French influence. In fact, among Imbert's artists we find the names of F. Duponchel (1825), J. Bauncou and Canova, —presumably brought over from France as P. S. Duval was by Childs & Inman to take charge of the lithographic department added to their general engraving business. Pendleton, too, had studied the art in Paris and brought the materials with him. The miniature painter and engraver Hugh Bridport's portrait of John Vaughan, after T. Sully, also shows French influence and is somewhat in the style of his pupil, Albert Newsam (1809-64), a deaf-mute.

Newsam was an assiduous student of French models. That is apparent in his larger portrait of W. Rawle, one of his best drawings, which stands out prominently from the many smaller colorless portraits which he produced. It is shown notably also in the portrait of John G. Watmough after Inman, in the style of Grevedon, his finest and most stunning effort. He was originally

apprenticed to Childs to learn engraving on copper. After Childs had gone into partnership with Inman, and taken up lithography, Newsam produced many of his earlier and best works for that firm, and he was active also for years in the service of its successor Duval. Devoted principally to portraiture, he was most successful when copying, for when he drew directly from the life he faithfully reproduced the tired look of the sitters whom he could not animate on account of his bodily misfortune. His name is indissolubly connected with the history of lithography in the United States. J. O. Pyatt, his teacher at the deaf and dumb institute, wrote a "Memoir" of him (1868), and a catalogue of his "Lithographic Portraits" was issued by D. M. Stauffer in 1901. Two collectors at least—D. M. Stauffer and Charles Roberts—have directed their energies in his direction, and the Pennsylvania Historical Society has a number of proofs which once belonged to Newsam.

Childs himself produced creditable portraits, such as those of Miss Clara Fisher, John Adams (partly done with the scraper) and Gen. A. Macomb. The first shows deep, rich shadows in the hair; the last, printed by Pendleton, Kearny & Childs, is of a soft, miniature-like effect.

The technique in this early work was that of the crayon drawing, with occasional use of the scraper, the stroke of the crayon being usually lost in a uniform, often rather grayish, tint. An especially effective example of this style at its best is found in M. E. D. Brown's portrait of William P. Dewees, after Neagle, printed by Lehman and Duval, 1833. Its deep, inky shadows and indefinite

contours make it one of the most interesting examples of lithographic portraiture that this country has produced. In a portrait of David B. Ogden and a reproduction of a picture by Newton for "The Amateur and Cabinet," Brown fell much below the standard which he himself had set in this stunning portrait of Dewees.

From the late thirties to the early fifties a little group of portrait artists turned out very respectable work, with an occasional infusion of decidedly artistic feeling. Charles Fenderich's series of political notabilities, issued 1837-1841 in Washington under the firm name of Charles Fenderich & Co., are rather uniformly dark, but fairly well modeled. His *Garret D. Wall* is the freest drawing by him that I have seen; *Worth* (1844), also, is quite good. F. D'Avignon likewise served his portraits in a lineless sauce of crayon tint; he ran to rich, shimmering grays instead of the sometimes dull heavy blacks that others affected. The series of large portraits after daguerreotypes by Brady, "Gallery of illustrious Americans" (1850), is probably his most familiar work; the *Baron Stow* (Bufford, Boston: 1859) is one of his best in execution. A strong contrast to these is offered in his delicate miniature likeness of Ralph Izard (Boston, 1844). The firm of D'Avignon & Brainerd existed in Boston in 1859.

Fabronius, a Belgian, who came to Philadelphia in 1855 and worked for Rosenthal and Duval, did good portraits. Martin Thurwanger, an Alsatian, who was in this country during 1850-55, employed the less-used

medium, pen and ink, for his very carefully executed portraits, such as that of E. Biddle.

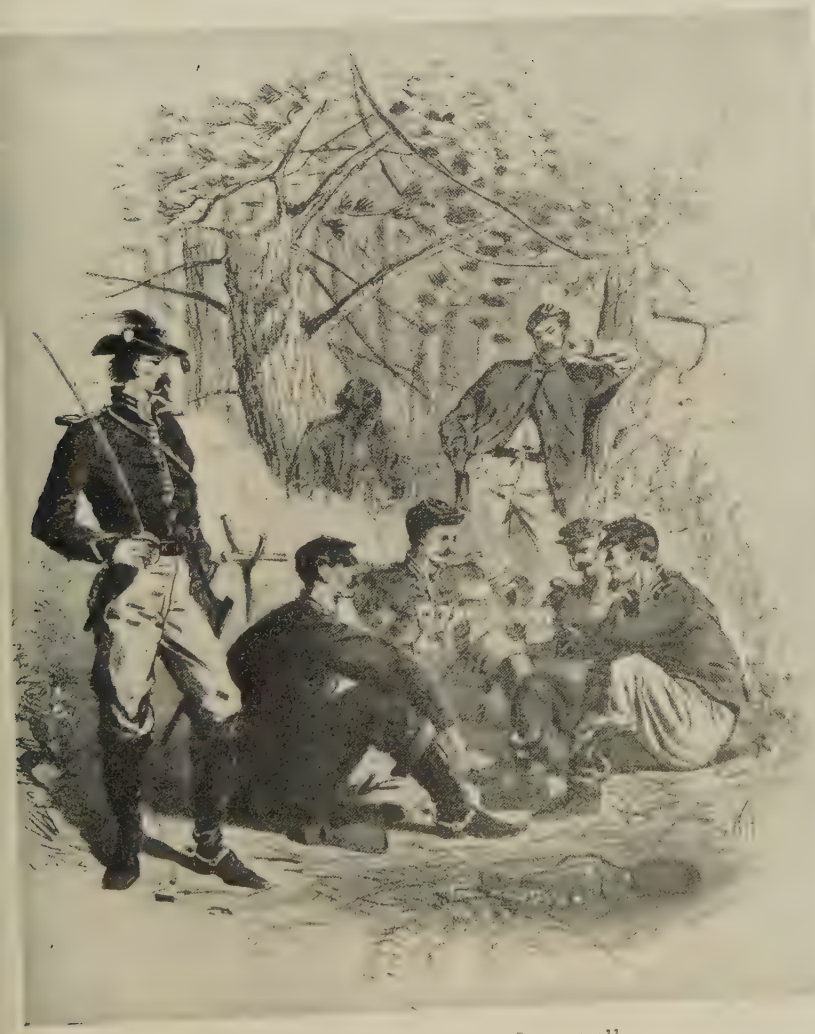
Contemporaneously with this activity in the Middle and Eastern States, J. Lion, a Frenchman working in Louisiana for many years, was engaged to make a series of portraits of the legislature of 1836, which series, owing to the death of the projector, was never published in collected form. His portrait of J. J. Morgan, New Orleans, 1846, shows a little similarity in manner to the lithographs of Léon Noël. William Beer, of the Howard Memorial Library, writes me that "the most celebrated head by Lion is one of Audubon," and adds that Gaspar Cusachs has about 100 lithographs by this artist.

Very much later in the century, early in the eighties, Max Rosenthal did two hundred or so of small heads of Revolutionary and other notabilities with a light, smooth touch.

If the crayon tint is in evidence in the drawings of most of the men who have been mentioned, the line is insisted upon in those of L. Grozelier (portraits of Charles Sumner, Lyman Beecher, 1854, and N. P. Banks, 1856) and C. G. Crehen (portraits of W. S. Mount, 1850, and J. C. Fremont, 1856). The former drew for Duval and for J. H. Bufford (in the fifties); the latter for Nagel & Weingärtner. Both of them had something of the manner of the Frenchman Julien, whose "drawing models" were so familiar in our boyhood days. Vincent Collyer, similarly, in his large *Crayon studies from life,* gave a suggestion of the style of Jose-

phine Ducollet's *modèles de dessin,* perhaps a bit freer in treatment. And Jules Émile Saintin, a French painter who spent some years in this country, did a portrait of Stephen A. Douglas (1860) which is worthy of special mention.

Lithography drew not a few engravers to its service, either directly as draughtsmen on the stone, or as managers or owners of establishments executing both engravings and lithographs. Childs and Maverick have already been referred to. V. Balch drew upon stone a portrait of Dr. Samuel L. Mitchell, published by Imbert. Annin & Smith, says Stauffer, "were for some time engaged in the lithographic business under the name of the Annin & Smith Senefelder Lithographic Co., of Boston. In 1831 they sold out the lithographic business to W. S. Pendleton, who continued the business as the Senefelder Co. of the same city." John Cheney drew on stone for Boston lithographers two tender, silvery-gray landscapes and a figure-piece, *The Broken Heart.* S. H. Gimber did lithographs beside engraving in stipple and mezzotint. Bridport stippled and lithographed, as did James Akin, apparently a "jack of all trades," druggist, restaurant keeper, mechanical draughtsman, and what not. And J. B. Martin, of Richmond, executed a portrait of John Randolph of Roanoke, printed by Childs. John Rubens Smith, who practised in various media, brought out *A Compendium of Picturesque Anatomy . . . on four Folio Lithographic Plates* (Boston, 1827); James Smillie, the line-engraver, did at least one drawing for lithographic reproduction (*View of Union Park, lith. by*



ONE OF THE "CAMPAGNE SKETCHES"
A series of lithographs by Winslow Homer

Sarony & Major, 1849); Kimmel & Forster (*The Preservers of our Union,* 1864) and H. B. Hall are credited with some work on the stone.

A very large proportion of the production of the first half of the nineteenth century consisted of portraiture, but other fields were not neglected. There is a little gallery of landscape art, pictures mainly of topographical and local interest. Such are the somewhat dry "Views of Philadelphia and its vicinity," from paintings by J. C. Wild, "published by J. T. Bowen at his lithographic and print colouring establishment" (1848; copyright 1840), and the volume, "Scenery of the White Mountains, with 16 plates from drawings of Isaac Sprague. By William Oakes" (Boston, 1848: B. W. Thayer & Co.). Or the numerous views signed by Mrs. Frances F. Palmer in the forties and fifties, and published, some by F. & S. Palmer and many by Currier & Ives. Not only views of large cities (e.g., *View of New York from Weehawken,* 1849, or *Suburban Gothic Villa, Murray Hill,* New York), but vistas of small towns and villages, responding to local needs and pride. E. Whitefield signed a number of views, among them a large one of *Brooklyn from the United States Hotel, New York* (1846).

Two particularly fine examples of semi-commercial landscape work are *Taghanic Fall,* put on stone by David Glasgow (died Jan. 29, 1858, aged 24) after a drawing from nature by E. Whitefield, and *Catterskill Falls,* by Charles Parsons. Both are good, finished, workmanlike productions; they have something of the manner of J. D. Harding, or perhaps of Calame. Parsons, for

many years manager of the art department of Harper Bros., executed a number of drawings on the stone, particularly large pictures of noted vessels, and a view of New York City (1858).

We were shown our country also as seen by foreigners. As the Frenchman Milbert had, in the twenties, depicted the scenery of the Hudson, so A. Köllner, of Düsseldorf, in the fifties, drew a series of American views published by Goupil & Co.

Lithography, for a while, was much used in book-illustration. An early effort is the title-page design of "The Daughter's Own Book" (Boston, 1833), a female figure in the manner of the French romantic period, done by *Pendleton's Lithography*. Pendleton seems to have printed many illustrations, among them those for A. Bigelow's "Travels in Malta and Sicily" (1831). Hawthorne's "Visit to the Celestial City" was published in 1844 by the American Sunday School Union with droll lithographic plates. In the fifties, sixties and seventies firms such as Sarony, Major & Knapp and Julius Bien were active in this field. A characteristic example of the work of the first-named is "Graphic Scenes of the Japan Expedition, by W. Heine, executed in colors and tints" (1856). They were responsible also for the *Compositions* for Judd's "Margaret" (1856) drawn in outline by F. O. C. Darley and put on stone by Konrad Huber, and for other similar work by Darley and J. W. Ehninger. Long before, in 1843, Sinclair of Philadelphia had printed outline *Scenes in Indian Life, drawn and etched on Stone by Darley*. Bien's product included the illus-

trations for "The House that Jack Built," "Five Little Pigs," etc., by H. L. Stephens, issued 1864-5 in editions of 100 copies, and the "Fables of Æsop" (1867) by the same artist.

Lithography was allied also to the comic art, in humorous weeklies such as "Puck," "Judge" or "The Wasp," as well as in separate sheets such as Thomas Worth's gaudily colored caricatures of negro life ("Darktown Fire Brigade" and the like). These last were printed and published by the New York firm of Currier & Ives (N. Currier, 1838-62, Currier & Ives, 1862-1901), who for many years before and after the Civil War issued a pictorial record of happenings,—murders, battles, shipwrecks,—as well as portraits and views, with little art and much color. Portraits, also, they furnished, and war-time cartoons by L. Maurer and others. Also prints with no reference to specific events, such as the series of six dealing with *The Life of a Fireman* by L. Maurer and Charles Parsons, or the *Summer Scenes in New York Harbor* (1869) by Parsons and Atwater. Even as late as the Spanish-American War their pictures formed the simplest and most direct supply of the demand for illustration of passing events. Such prints were issued also by John L. Magee, of Philadelphia, in the fifties. Similar in purpose but better in execution were such prints as *Lincoln on his Death-bed* and *Grant's Council of War,* by Peter Krämer.

A field in which the stone quite crowded out the wood block was that of the theatrical poster. The artists Matt Morgan and H. A. Ogden and the firms Strobridge Litho-

graphic Co., A. S. Seer and W. J. Morgan have been particularly identified with this form of lithographic activity, into which there have been occasional incursions from without, so by Ernest Haskell and B. J. Rosenmeyer (portrait of Richard Mansfield).

As in other countries, the music cover, cultivated in France notably by Chatinière, was likewise the province of lithography, from the days of Pendleton to those of H. A. Thomas. A title-vignette for a song, printed by Pendleton, 1831, is signed *Lopez;* another piece of sheet music bears a portrait of Clay (Thayer & Co.'s Lithograph, 1844); and J. D. Smillie designed a vignette or two.

Many of the names mentioned in this chapter represent material for the history of commercial lithography, perhaps to be written some day? For us not a few of them have mainly the somewhat negative interest that they do appear on the prints, that they were not suppressed and covered by a firm name, that the artist was given his due.

Such considerations take us naturally into the record of firms. Beside those named elsewhere in this chapter there were Childs & Lehman, Lehman & Duval (who lithographed the plates in J. O. Lewis's "Aboriginal Port-Folio," 1835), Kennedy & Lucas, P. S. Duval & Co., Pendleton, Kearny & Childs, and T. S. Sinclair in Philadelphia; Endicott & Swett, later Endicott (1832-90), G. Hayward, in New York; T. Moore, successor of Pendleton, and himself succeeded by Thayer, W. Sharp & Co., in Boston; Wegner, Brueckner & Mueller in Pittsburg (A. D. Wegner drew portraits); R. H.

Pease in Albany; D. W. Kellogg in Hartford; and similar establishments in Washington, Baltimore and other cities in the third to sixth decades of the century. And if one comes down to more recent times, the list becomes too long for full citation. They were kept busy supplying demands for comic papers, posters, chromos, advertisements, cigar-box labels, cigarette cards, Christmas and other cards, supplements to periodicals, and the numerous other forms of pictorial production which came from the lithographic press. Not a few of these firms were united in the American Lithographic Co.

A large proportion of this later work has been in color. Printed in color, that is, not hand-coloring such as it is found in *Grandpapa's Pet, Drawn and lithotinted by John H. Richards expressly for Miss Leslie's Magazine, the first Specimen of this Art ever produced in the United States, Lith. of P. S. Duval, Phila.* Early efforts in color-printing are encountered occasionally. For example, the cover, printed in colors by *E. W. Bouvé, Boston,* of "The Waif," edited by Longfellow (Cambridge, 1845). Or the bust portrait of Washington *lithographed and printed in oil Colors by P. S. Duval & Son, Philadelphia.* Or the *Interior View of Independence Hall, Philadelphia* (1856), *on Stone by Max Rosenthal; Lithographed and printed in Colors by L. N. Rosenthal.* The color-plates in J. F. Reigart's "Life of Robert Fulton" (1856) were produced by the same combination of designer and printer. Max Rosenthal, who came to Philadelphia in 1849, we are told, "made the chromo-lithographic plates for what is believed to be the first fully

illustrated book by this process in the United States, 'Wild Scenes and Wild Hunters.' In 1854 he drew and lithographed an interior view of the old Masonic Temple in Philadelphia, the plate being 22 by 25 inches, the largest chromo-lithograph that had been made in the country up to that time." Christian Schussele, an Alsatian, who came to Philadelphia in 1848, worked for Duval and subsequently turned to painting, is said to have learned chromo-lithography from Engelmann and introduced it here. He designed a card for *P. S. Duval's Lithographic & Color Printing Establishment,* which firm executed also his title for "Godey's" for 1850. After the early development of this new art through these two men came Julius Bien's large undertaking, the plates for the 1860 re-issue of Audubon's "Birds." Among his later color-work was a sheet of gems to illustrate an article by Dr. George F. Kunz (1890) and a reproduction of Munkacsy's *Christ before Pilate.*

A name of particular significance in the annals of lithographic color-printing is that of Louis Prang, who issued many prints, including reproductions of paintings. The culmination of his achievement is to be found in the rendition of ceramic ware in the W. T. Walters collection, appearing in a sumptuous folio published in Baltimore in 1884. Finally, there must be noted the color-plates done by the Forbes Co. for the sumptuous publication: "The Bishop Collection. Investigations and Studies in Jade. Catalogue" (1906).

With great improvement in commercial lithography there came comparatively few instances of artistic force

FLOWER GIRL
Lithograph by William M. Hunt

or individuality as we find it in the work, say, of Sarony, Morgan or Keppler to some extent. The incentive to original work, " painter-lithography," weakened.

As has been indicated, the line bounding original work is not always easy to draw absolutely. Napoleon Sarony, identified with lithographic printing houses from his thirteenth year, signed some pieces himself, executed with a graceful and facile touch and in a smooth manner. Shall David D. Neal's *Captain John Paty* and A. Nahl's *Thomas O. Larkin* (1863), both the work of California painters, be considered as original or as commercial lithographs? Or Seymour J. Guy's large certificate issued to subscribers to the Brooklyn and Long Island Fair in aid of the U. S. Sanitary Commission? Or the *Campagne* [sic!] *Sketches,* drawn with crayon and some scraping, with noteworthy freedom of touch, by Winslow Homer, during the Civil War, and published by Prang & Co. of Boston? Or even S. S. Frizzell's suave rendering, with crayon and some touches of the scraper, of W. M. Hunt's *Elaine* (1866)? Decision is not quite so difficult if it be borne in mind that the fact that a painter happens to make a drawing for a lithographic house does not *per se* constitute the result a " painter-lithograph." It is a matter of expression of individuality, that is all. The question is simply, does the result clearly bear the impress of the artist's personality, is it an outcome of his own unhampered self?

W. M. Hunt, in the sixties, showed true painter qualities in some original lithographs of a flower girl, a Savoyard (hurdy-gurdy player) and other simple sub-

jects treated in a big way, with remarkable feeling for tone and color. About the same time (1870) G. W. Nichols of New York published a series of lithographs by painters, among them *Twilight* by A. Delessard, *Twilight* by F. Rondel after a painting by George Inness, *Plato* by F. B. Mayer, and particularly *Hagar and Ishmael,* a good, strong bit of work by Edwin White, who showed here the same quiet richness that marks some of his paintings.

To these few names must be added those of Thomas Moran and J. Foxcroft Cole. Moran is known as a painter by the chromatic glories of his Turnerian Venice scenes and his depictions of the grandiose beauty of the Western United States. Similarly, he expressed in the black-and-white of the stone his love of bold, scenic effects, towering mountains, forest giants, vistas of wild, stern nature. Two of his best-known lithographs are *Solitude* (a wood-interior: No. 1 of his *Studies and Pictures,* 1868) and *South Shore of Lake Superior* (1869). The last, a strong and picturesque performance, is his best, as he says himself; the stone was unfortunately destroyed by accident, when but ten or twelve impressions had been taken.

A remarkable contrast to the vigor and sweep of such work is offered in the eight *pastorals* of Cole (six of them issued by L. Prang & Co. in 1870 as part 1 of an "Album of American Artists"), simple in subject and treatment, with a quiet charm in harmony with their characterization as pastorals. Cole, like Winslow Homer and Eastman Johnson, was originally a lithographer in the estab-

lishment of Bufford; Homer's *œuvre* includes a number of little cards of soldier life during the Civil War, issued by Prang as were the *Campagne Sketches,* but approaching the subject rather more from the humorous side.

So there was promising material about the year 1870, but the period of active interest in the resources of the stone was short. And it was not until about 1896 that a revival of interest took place. Montague Marks, then editor of the "Art Amateur" (New York), enlisted the attention of various artists,—J. Carroll Beckwith, J. Alden Weir, H. W. Ranger, F. Hopkinson Smith, Joseph Lauber, J. G. Brown, Ruger Donoho and Cleveland Coxe,—who at his instigation made attempts in lithography. A particular understanding of the effects which this medium makes possible to the artist was shown by Weir (who used the scraper in some characteristic studies of home life) and Ranger, whose *On the Seine* is an admirable rendition of a rainy day with its sky of tremulous gray and the reflecting glint of the wet stones.

That is as far as it went. One drawing, at most two, apiece were had from these artists. That was all. Marks's idea of an "American Society of Painter Lithographers" ("Art Amateur," 1896, p. 105; 1897, p. 69) was not realized. With so little to record, one feels grateful for any farther sign of intelligent and discriminating interest in the art. Even the fact that Robert Blum and W. J. Baer did some retouching on a stone to which a pastel by Blum (Japanese peasant girl) had been photographically transferred for "Scribner's Magazine" is noted here as a historical detail. C. A. Vanderhoof,

the etcher, once used the stone in the production of a series of covers for a magazine. And C. F. W. Mielatz showed the same devotion to the nooks and corners of New York City, which we know in his etchings, in a series of 12 lithographs issued by the New York "Society of Iconophiles." This same society a few years ago brought out a set of skyscraper studies by Joseph Pennell.

The last name recalls the fact that a large proportion of the best painter-lithographs of more recent date by American artists was produced abroad.

The story of Whistler's introduction to lithography by T. R. Way (who says that he found in it "a medium which is more sympathetic and personal even than the copper-plate") forms an interesting chapter in the history of the art. He abandoned the medium for a time and ultimately resumed it to make it peculiarly a means of expression for his nervously sensitive artistic personality. Some of the greatest masters of lithography—Isabey, Daumier, Gavarni—had accustomed us to velvety blacks, to dark notes of a rich resonance. Even the most vaporous passages of Fantin-Latour had richness and depth and mass. The battle-pieces of Raffet were veritable paintings in black-and-white. The landscapes of Calame and J. D. Harding were essentially a matter of tones. And now came Whistler, did away with tones (except in his few lithotints), gave us crayon drawings in which the insistence was on the line, limited in quantity to the least possible, tremulous in its sensitive response to passing mood. With a joyous spontaneity Whistler set down these impressions of shifting grace

View on the Seine
Lithograph by H. W. Ranger

in form and movement, with a touch as light as air, of an almost evanescent suggestiveness, sometimes heightened by spots of color. His gray line and the summariness of his method show a marked difference from the rich, deep notes, and completeness of effect, characteristic of a Decamps, an Isabey or a Menzel. He added a highly interesting variant to the illustrations of technical possibilities in lithography that the nineteenth century has given us.

Whistler singled out the crispness of Pennell's "Spanish" series for special mention. Pennell has, indeed, made interesting trials of various resources of the stone, as in *Poitiers: Church of St. Hilaire,* or in those prints showing a castle on a hill, to the right of a broad road, with rich unctuous blacks, produced by crayon, brush and rags, with lights brought out by the scraper. But his preference has evidently been for the pure line of the crayon, the grainy effect of which is characteristic of most of his work. It is found in the numerous drawings made for Irving's "Alhambra" and the "Highways and Byways" series of books on English counties, and in the *Spanish* and *Holland* series of lithographs. In the last-named, more satiety of effect is gained; this, finally, in his views of the *Rouen Cathedral,* sounds in deep, booming notes of black that throw the delicate treatment of decorated form into effective relief.

John S. Sargent, in some studies of draped models drawn on transfer paper, shows much of the style and feeling that are admired in his remarkable water-color studies. His broad crayon-strokes and rich, dark shad-

ows form an interesting contrast to the pencil-drawing-like manner of Whistler and thus illustrate the pliability of the medium in the happiest manner. E. A. Abbey is said to have made some attempts, of which I have seen only a caricature of Sir John Hare, the actor. And Mary Cassatt, of Paris, is represented solely by a *Lady in a theatre box* (1891), an "early and only attempt," as she says, of which but five impressions were taken.

Robert J. Wickenden, on the other hand, took up the practice of the art with energy, and produced a number of prints, among which *La Mère Panneçaye* (a character study of an old Frenchwoman, rendered with loving appreciation) and *La Rentrée du Troupeau,* shown at the Salon of 1894 and published in the same year in "Les Peintres Lithographes" (first issue).

Albert Sterner, too, turned to lithography for a time when abroad, and produced particularly some portraits of distinction. "It is in his lithographs and his crayon and chalk portraits," said Christian Brinton, "that Mr. Sterner displayed the fullest measure of his ability," and adds that he is "subjective and sensitive to a singular degree."

Home production to-day is almost *nil.* Not quite; some few things are to be recorded, about which the general public presumably knows little, principally because they have been seldom exhibited. Ozias Dodge, in whom professional didactics are mingled with experimentative and inventive interest in reproductive processes, held an exhibition of auto-lithographs in New York in 1902. Ernest Haskell drew some clever portraits of

LIMEHOUSE
Lithotint by J. A. M. Whistler

Mrs. Fiske, the actress (1900-1901), used as posters, and some landscape sketches. Arthur B. Davies presented a dozen or so of delightful experiments, no two alike in method of production, the process sensitively adapted to various needs. John Sloan's incursions into this field are similar in spirit and subject to his etchings. A portrait of Ernest Lawson by W. J. Glackens exists, I am told, in only three impressions. And Glenn Hinshaw, at the American Water Color Society, 1910, showed *A Bit of old Paris,* done on transfer paper.

Clever essays, most of these; sporadic attempts, which, often seen by but a few, fade away again from notice without having had time to make a deep impression. There is not even the sustained impulse, the continuous effort, that would justify a reference to "voices crying in the wilderness." One may speculate *ad libitum* on this apathy, this want of recognition of a medium that in its supple responsiveness to the artist's intention offers so wide a field for the exercise of the varied shades of technique that form the expression of different individualities. Is it that the taint of commercialism continues to cling, in the mind of many, to the conception of lithography? Have the very men who have had practical experience through their early apprenticeship in commercial lithography—W. J. Baer, E. Potthast, A. I. Keller, Charles Broughton, the late Louis Loeb and C. Schreyvogel—been kept away by this experience? Or is the want of good printers, cited by more than one artist as the reason why he has not practised the art, the real cause of the trouble?

Whatever the cause, there seems to be no immediate ground for the hope that this reproductive process may be taken up again as an autographic art, in spite of the rich means of expression which it offers the artist. Even its facility is in its favor. It does not lay upon the artist the burden of a long apprenticeship. In these days of transfer-paper we have done away with whatever inconvenience the direct working on the stone may imply. It is a mystery, almost, that an art so supple in expression, so rich in resources, so absolute in its reproduction of the artist's touch without the intervention of any other agency, should not have called forth a readier response to its appeal.

CHAPTER XI

THE ILLUSTRATORS

THE history of the reproductive processes is to a great extent the history of book-illustration. In the preceding chapters it has been shown how line-engraving, etching, mezzotint, aquatint, lithography and wood-engraving have each had its period of application to the ever-present demand for elucidation or adornment of the printed page by means of picture or ornament. To a particularly high degree is this true of wood-engraving. Its office as an agent of pleasure and of pictorial instruction in connection with the printing press has been of long duration. In this country, too, it long held practically undisputed sway until it was supplanted by the now ubiquitous half-tone.

In the eighteenth century, what little we had of book-illustration—an occasional portrait or map was really all that the writings of local divines, or other similarly serious publications, called for—was done in copper-engraving. The glamor of elegance which hung about this latter medium in Europe (with us it was the glamor without the elegance) similarly overshadowed the humble wood block here. With the Revolution there came at least some native response to the demand for pictorial illustration of current events, and activity found still further opportunity to increase when political independence was

assured. We were beginning to take breath while building up the nation, and to note natural beauties around us; also, pride in national achievements and local development called for tangible pictorial records. All of this is dealt with at length in the chapters on line-engraving, stipple, aquatint and mezzotint, and the dominance of these media extends well into the nineteenth century.

Periodical literature played its prominent and important part in the fostering of engraving on copper and steel in the nineteenth century. The "New York Mirror" (begun in 1823) published much good work, particularly views. Then came other ventures, "Family Magazine" (in the thirties), "Picture Gallery" (1843) and "Godey's Lady's Book." The last-named took great pains to inform its readers that no plates so fine were to be found in any magazine and that they were from designs expressly for "Godey's." This last is the best that can be said of them: poor as they were, they were generally after paintings or drawings by Americans. George G. White, C. Schussele, Mrs. Lily Martin Spencer, P. F. Rothermel, H. L. Stephens, E. Brown, John R. Chapin, James Hamilton the Philadelphia marine painter, Dallas, William Croome and H. Bispham were those whose works were thus reproduced between 1840-65.

The literary annuals and "tokens" and "keepsakes," so numerous in those days, were likewise illustrated with steel plates (generally in line, sometimes in mezzotint), as were the various "elegant publications, suited for the drawing-room table," as one advertisement put it,—

"drawing-room books," collections of inanely sentimental "beauties" of the poets, volumes of local description, immortalizations of cemeteries. The plates in the American editions of the volumes of that peripatetic British world-illustrator, William Henry Bartlett, were in many instances re-engraved by Americans. The steel-engraving as a means of direct illustration survived until after the Civil War. So, for example, in certain illustrations by F. O. C. Darley, among them the graceful and characteristic vignettes for the edition of Dickens, issued by Houghton and Mifflin. Or in the rather mechanical plates done after paintings by Alonzo Chappel (who died in 1890 or 1891) for the "National Portrait Gallery of Eminent Americans" (1862) and other publications of Johnson, Fry & Co. Various people have discovered that Chappel based his work on fairly careful preparation in the study of necessary historical data. In my own case, my eyes were first opened to that fact by the comparison of his picture of the shooting of Elmer E. Ellsworth with a photograph of Francis E. Brownell, who shot Ellsworth's assassin, in order to verify the Zouave costume which the artist has put on him. Chappel, by the way, collaborated with Darley in the illustration of the Stratford edition of Shakespeare, edited by W. C. Bryant (1886). That, I believe, was the last important work by either of them.

It is to be noted also that the Cruikshank-Phiz-Leech period of etched book-illustration in England had a slight reflex in our country. The work of Yeager and Bellew is referred to under "Etching," as are the later etched

illustrations by Colman, those for Dean Sage's book on the "Ristigouche," and Sloan's plates.

Finally, there was some use of lithography for book-illustration,—beginning in the thirties and applied in black-and-white, in tints, and even in the full colors of chromo-lithography, all of which is set down in the chapter on lithography. Darley's "Scenes in Indian Life" (1843) and his illustrations for Irving's "Rip Van Winkle" (1848: American Art Union; re-issued, much reduced, in London, 1850, in six etchings on steel by Charles Simms), "Legend of Sleepy Hollow" (American Art Union, 1849), Judd's "Margaret" (1856), all in outline, were etched on stone. John W. Ehninger employed the same process for his outline plates for Irving's "Dolph Heyliger" (1851). The last-named artist's drawings for "Ye Legend of St. Gwendoline" (1867) were reproduced by photography, an unusual method, "because," said H. C. Bunner ("Harper's," October, 1892), "they were considered too delicate to entrust to the engraver's burin."

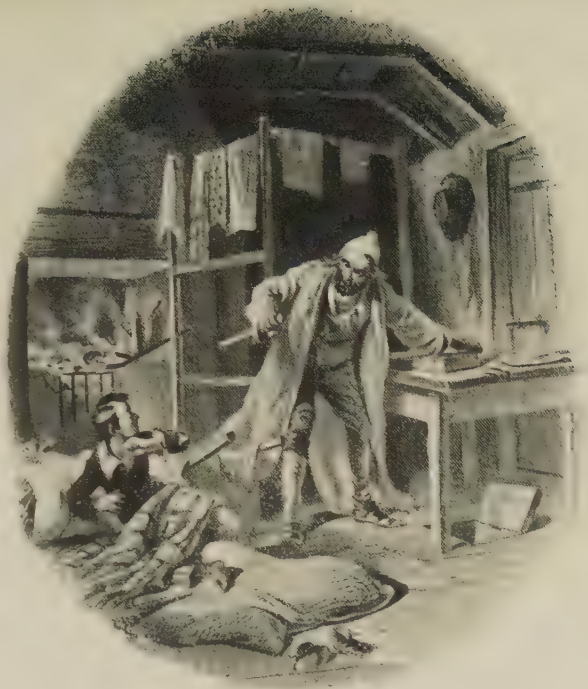
But during all this time, wood-engraving, with its peculiar possibilities of direct and harmonious combination with the type-printed page, was coming to its own. Even in the earliest, crude efforts one feels some of this connection between woodcut and type-metal printing, both relief processes. From the rehabilitation of wood-engraving in the days of Anderson, to its consummate development about two or three decades ago, its application as a means of adornment and as a source of, and impetus to, pictorial instruction in connection with the

printed page was far-reaching and enormous in extent and incalculable in its effect on the public. The growing demand for illustration of historical works, schoolbooks and fiction called into being the professional illustrator, a class which rapidly increased in numbers and ability.

One may note, in passing, the early occasional work of John Ludlow Morton or D. C. Johnston. But it is with the forties that there set in an impetus toward freer and more artistic drawing on the block. A particularly noteworthy undertaking was the Harper Bible, with about 1,400 drawings by John Gadsby Chapman, executed with meticulous care in the spirit of the steel-engraving. Somewhat freer, but yet with something of the feeling of the English artist John Thurston, were the Shakespeare illustrations (1853) of T. H. Matteson, perhaps his best work. Peter Paul Duggan, N.A., executed some promising designs in his short life. William Croome, an accession from the ranks of the wood-engravers, illustrated John Frost's "Book of the Navy" (1843), "Songs for the People" (1849), and other works with some spirit. And Hammatt Billings, who began life as a wood-engraver, became an architect, and designed the monument to the Pilgrim Fathers at Plymouth, illustrated a number of books, among them Whittier's poems (1849), Waverley Novels (1857-59) and writings of H. B. Stowe, Dickens, Pellico, S. S. Goodrich and others, in the fifties.

With the opening of this new period, in the early forties, there appeared on the scene, and soon at the front, one who still stands on our records as perhaps the

most noteworthy example, everything considered, of an "all around" illustrator that we have had,—Felix O. C. Darley. Darley's industry was as great as his facility and versatility, and for years the phrase "illustrated by Darley" or "with designs by Darley" appeared with never-failing regularity in the publishers' announcements of new books. The swing of his style, his big grasp of both individual action and the movement of groups of bodies, give his work a distinction even to-day. His illustrations, even if we pick faults in details of drawing, are really illustrations and not simply painfully exact drawings without any appreciable reference to the text, or pictures of "swagger" young men with stern brows, massive chins and padded shoulders, and the ever-beautiful young woman whom we are tickled to-day to accept as the only possible type of an American girl. Darley's industry and versatility recall the activity of Doré. Before the mind's eye there rise his early Philadelphia street scenes, occasional "comics," title designs (as for "The Lantern"), and the illustrations for Irving's "Knickerbocker History of New York," Poe, Wm. Gilmore Simms, Stories of Western and Southern life, juveniles, Frank Forester's sporting books, Tristram Shandy, Joseph C. Neal's humor, "Nick of the Woods," T. B. Thorpe ("the bee hunter"), Cooper (whom he illustrated both on wood and on steel—over 500 designs for this author are credited to him), Dickens (the Boston edition, with all the English illustrations, "to which are added the unsurpassed designs by F. O. C. Darley and John Gilbert"), Lossing's "Our Country" (500 drawings), the outline



A Scene from "Oliver Twist"

A Scene from Cooper's "Leather Stocking Tales"

Illustrations, engraved on steel, from designs by Felix O. C. Darley

compositions already mentioned and the later works, Evangeline and the Shakespeare plates. To all this must be added also the numerous bank-note vignettes and the large Civil War framing prints, *March to the Sea,* etc. The mere quantity of it is astonishing, but respect for this artist is much increased when one surveys this great output, and realizes the high average merit of it all. It was inevitable that such unceasing demand on his powers should develop a manner, but at its best—and it was remarkably often at its best—it approached so closely to a style as to challenge a definition of difference. And it imposed itself with a virile distinction that exerts its own peculiar charm, using that word in its best sense. There exist rough preparatory sketches for a number of designs later to be drawn on the block, unctuous little conceptions of vignettes. And there are also interesting examples of the use of the pencil in swirls where the line is used in masses to block out movement and composition. These, again, can be contrasted with carefully detailed studies from nature, showing how facts carefully observed, noted and stored up formed the foundation for Darley's easy presentation.

The strong personality of Darley, while not actually imitated, seems to impress its character somewhat on the period before and during the Civil War. The swing and vigor of his style find a certain reflection in the drawings, somewhat exaggerated in strength, of Jacob A. Dallas, and in those of Frederick M. Coffin ("Fern Leaves from Fanny's Portfolio," 1854) and E. J. Whitney.

In the fifties, various efforts to establish illustrated

magazines naturally had their influence on the art of illustration. In some of the earliest ones, the "International Monthly" (New York, volumes 1-5: 1850-52), "National Magazine" (New York, volume 1, 1852) and "United States Magazine," the cuts were, indeed, mainly copied from other sources. But the last-named had, at least, some drawings by John R. Chapin, as well as those for Major Jack Downing's "Letters" (1857) by J. H. Howard (who illustrated also Downing's "My thirty Years out of the Senate," 1859), and all three had portraits by Samuel Wallin. Wallin, clever in his specialty, was much in demand, and drew all the heads in the "Illustrated American Biography" (1853-55), re-issued in 1867 as A. J. Jones's "American Portrait Gallery." He was better than J. A. Oertel, had more aplomb, but it is interesting to compare his portraits, always done with the same recognizable curves, manner more evident than characterization, with such a careful production as August Will's portrait of Alexander Anderson, published in the "Child's Paper" in 1867.

In the meantime, "Harper's Magazine" had come in 1851 to stay. The publishers made haste slowly in the art department, but gradually the illustrations increased and improved. Among this periodical's artists in the first decade of its existence were Frank Bellew, J. R. Chapin (who reappeared at the end of the eighties in the pages of the "American Magazine" and as the illustrator of Edgar Fawcett's "Olivia Delaplaine"), F. M. Coffin, W. H. Davenport, Darley, Dallas, C. E. Doepler, Hinsdale, D. C. Hitchcock (the "Hitchie" of Vedder's

" Digressions of V.," 1910), Augustus Hoppin (illustrator of " Nothing to Wear," 1857, and later of books by W. D. Howells, G. W. Curtis, C. D. Warner, D. M. Craik and B. P. Shillaber), E. F. Mullen, Thwaites, H. L. Stephens, B. J. Lossing, T. Addison Richards and David H. Strother (" Porte Crayon ").

The last three were artist authors, frequently illustrating their own writings. Lossing not only drew the illustrations for nearly all of his popular books, such as the " Field Books " of the Revolution and the War of 1812, and " The Hudson from the Wilderness to the Sea," but the woodcuts also bear the signature of *Lossing & Barritt* as engravers. T. Addison Richards was probably the first artist in this country to make a specialty of drawing acceptable landscape illustrations on the wood. He furnished both drawings and text for " Romance of American Landscape " and other volumes. " Porte Crayon " illustrated Southern life with pen and pencil, a number of his papers being gathered in book form under the title " Virginia illustrated." And while on this subject of artist-authors, there may be mentioned also T. B. Thorpe, Capt. George H. Derby (" The Squibob Papers, by John Phoenix. With comic Illustrations by the Author," 1865), H. W. Herbert (" Frank Forester " of sporting books fame), Thomas Butler Gunn (" Physiology of the New York Boarding House "), Augustus Hoppin, Charles C. Perkins, G. G. White, C. A. Barry and H. W. Herrick, the last three responsible for handbooks on drawing and painting. In later years the tribe increased greatly: Livingston Hopkins, J. Carter Beard,

Dan. C. Beard ("The American Boy's Handy Book," 1883), Palmer Cox ("Brownie" books), A. F. Jaccaci, Wm. Hamilton Gibson, Frank D. Millet, Mary Hallock Foote, W. H. McDougall, C. S. Reinhart, Frank French, A. C. Redwood (stories of the war from the Southern standpoint), W. H. Shelton, Frederic Remington, George Wharton Edwards, George Gibbs, E. Seton Thompson and many more illustrated fiction of their own making or stories of their experiences and travels, amused the young idea or taught it how to shoot or do other things, or established reciprocal emphasis between their drawn and written humor. Some of them were rather better known as writers, who took up the pencil to add the force of graphic representation to their written word, as did also Frank B. Mayer, Edward Strahan ("Earl Shinn"), W. Mackay Laffan, Wm. H. Bishop, Roger Riordan.

But this was a divagation, and we return to the Harper artists, of whom Carl Emil Doepler was a German with a facile style and a sufficient attention to detail to make pleasing illustrations. He was in this country during 1849-55, and among his very many designs were those for J. S. C. Abbott's "Life of Napoleon" (1871, the ilustrations notably numerous) and the Jacob Abbott "Rollo" books. A large percentage of the Harper draughtsmen were at one time or another engaged in the production of "comics": Bellew, Darley, Hoppin, E. F. Mullen (one of Artemus Ward's illustrators and "friends all the year 'round"), McLenan and H. L. Stephens.

There was still another factor of note in all this movement, the spread of illustrated weekly journalism. In 1851 T. W. Strong brought out the first illustrated weekly worthy of note, the "Illustrated American News." Dallas drew the title, and the illustrations were signed by Bellew, C. J. Brown, G. T. Devereux, Elliot, Egbert, Chapin, D. C. Hitchcock, John H. Goater, Hoppin, McDonough, Magee, Masson, W. R. Miller, E. Purcell, Howell and Wallin. This publication ended the same year and was followed on January 4, 1853, by the "Illustrated News" (issued by P. T. Barnum and Beach, of the "Sun"), which lived a year and passed into "Gleason's Pictorial," of Boston, in which city Ballou also issued illustrated publications.

These unsuccessful efforts to found a weekly illustrated paper on a permanent basis were followed by "Frank Leslie's Illustrated Newspaper" in 1855 and "Harper's Weekly" in 1857. Leslie had been engaged on Gleason's; his weekly eventually came out also in a German edition, and one of its features was the reproduction, on a reduced scale, of illustrations in foreign periodicals. Among its artists were Joseph Becker, Albert Berghaus and Georgiana A. Davis (who in recent years drew for the Salvation Army's "War Cry"). There must be noted also the "New York Illustrated News" (volumes 1-6, 1859-62), with A. R. Waud, Lumley, Eytinge and Nast. The "Southern Illustrated News" (beginning in 1862), like the Palmetto series of schoolbooks or the novels by Clara Mühlbach issued in wall-paper covers, marked the brave attempt of the South to cultivate the

finer and gentler arts of peace under adverse circumstances, in the stress of battle for a separate national existence.

In the seventies and eighties New York even had a daily illustrated paper, the "Daily Graphic," for which Fernando Miranda drew cartoons, and which got the early work of some illustrators to become more noted later: Frost, E. W. Kemble, C. D. Weldon. Philip G. Cusachs, a prolific and rapid worker, was at one time art-manager of this publication; photo-lithography was the reproductive process used. Later, S. H. Horgan, I am told, brought out in the same publication the first half-tone published in a daily.

As for the daily newspaper, there were occasional cuts in the "Atlas" (1842), "Mercury" and "Herald," and Valerian Gribayédoff, in his article on "Pictorial Journalism" ("Cosmopolitan," 1896), notes that the "Pittsburgh Telegraph" in 1875 commenced using woodcuts in its Saturday issue. But illustration as a regular feature of the daily press came with the founding of "Truth" (New York) in 1877. However, that was not yet illustration of current events as we understand it to-day, for as it took the engraver two or three days to turn out a cut by the "soft metal process," he placed on hand a series of stock illustrations, used again and again. In 1883 illustration was tried by "The World" (New York), with which Gribayédoff came into contact the following year. From this starting point development came. Other papers followed suit, as well as the American Press Association, with S. H. Horgan as art manager. Among the newspaper artists of the following

years were H. Coultaus and J. Knickerbocker of the "New York Herald," and John Durkin and O. H. von Gottschalk of the "Sun." To-day the number is large indeed, even if we except the comic artists. To the zinc etching, much used, there has been added the half-tone, with results often questionable in effect, but speedy of attainment. The "Ben Day" process of quick mechanical production of tints by "rapid shading mediums" has also been a time-saver.

But if, in the earlier days of the nineteenth century,—from which I had momentarily strayed,—the illustrations in newspapers were practically non-existent, we did have the occasional "blanket sheet" of one issue. Such a one was that brought out during the Mexican War, "Brother Jonathan: Great Pictorial Battle Sheet" (New York, 1847). This was an amusing mixture of bona-fide portraits of American generals, and French and other foreign cuts appropriated to do duty as delineations of Mexican life. These pictures of French cuirassiers and Italian brigands posing as Mexican soldiers and civilians constitute as pretty an example as one could find of the barefaced "fake."

In the literature relating to the Civil War which appeared during and soon after that great struggle, the names of Alfred R. and William Waud, Christian Schussele, T. R. Davis, Arthur Lumley, F. B. Schell often appeared, the last two mentioned being artist correspondents in the field, as was also Winslow Homer, whose originality was foreshadowed in this early work. No doubt engravers and artists often had to work against

time in those troublous days, but it was probably good schooling. A scrap-book of pencil drawings made in the field by Frank Leslie's artists, to be redrawn on the block in the home office, shows in an interesting manner under what conditions the work was done and what short-hand cuts the artists made for the "re-drawers."

With peace assured there came improvement in the reproduction of illustrations by wood-engraving, referred to in the chapter on that art, where the influence of "Picturesque America" (1872-74) is duly noted. In that work the landscape artists had their opportunity, particularly Thomas Moran, Harry Fenn and J. D. Woodward. Fenn was the suggester and principal illustrator of the publication and was prominently identified also with "Picturesque Europe" and "Picturesque Palestine," beside executing the widely known designs for Whittier's "Ballads of New England," 1870, and "Snow-Bound," 1881. Woodward's sure, skilful pencil was so much in demand that in 1881 he wrote to T. D. Sugden that he was "driven within an inch of my life." Other artists identified with landscape art were Henry Bisbing, who later removed to Paris to paint, and John A. Hows ("Forest Scenes," 1864, and "Forest Pictures in the Adirondacks," 1865). The latter drew for "Appleton's Journal" (begun 1869), in the pages of which we find also the signatures of R. S. Gifford, Granville Perkins (with marine subjects as his specialty), J. Hill, E. Forbes, A. C. Warren, Thomas Hogan (long associated with Frank H. Schell), W. M. Cary (scenes of Western life), W. L. Sheppard (illustrator of John Esten Cooke's novels

and of Carlton McCarthy's "Life in the C. S. A."), Frank Beard, Alfred Kappes (a painter of negro pictures, with a virile understanding of his subject), Will H. Low, Charles G. Bush (who drew also for the Harpers), Winslow Homer, Mary A. Hallock (later Mrs. Foote), Paul Frenzeny, Darley and W. J. Hennessy. The last-named illustrated J. G. Holland, Mrs. Browning, Longfellow, Stedman and Tennyson; his twelve drawings of Edwin Booth in as many characters, engraved by W. J. Linton, 1872, are perhaps as well known as any of his work. At about the same time there were running "Every Saturday," "Our Young Folks" (Boston, 1865-73), the "Riverside Magazine" (1867-70), and "Scribner's Magazine" (begun 1871). With enlarging opportunities came an increasing number of illustrators. Beside those just mentioned there were E. B. Bensell, J. McNevin, W. Momberger, Thomas Nast (illustrations for "Robinson Crusoe"), I. Pranischnikoff. Sol Eytinge, Jr., drew illustrations for Dickens, which won the praise of that author, and for Lowell's "Vision of Sir Launfal," and became particularly well known through the mellow, kindly humor of his scenes from negro life.

There came also the entrance of women artists into this field. Among the earliest were Lucy Gibbons, Jessie Curtis (subsequently Mrs. Shepherd), the dainty but undistinguished Addie Ledyard and Mary A. Hallock (later Mrs. Foote), who illustrated books by Longfellow, Hawthorne and herself. Female illustrators a little later, in the eighties and nineties, included M. L. D.

Watson, Irene E. Jerome ("Nature's Hallelujah," 1886, "The Message of the Bluebird," 1886; drawings of birds and flowers), Mrs. Jessie McDermott Walcott (child subjects), Allegra Eggleston (daughter of Edward), Helen Rosa Lossing ("H. Rosa"; daughter of Benson J.), L. B. Humphrey, L. J. Bridgman, Mrs. Allingham, Maud Humphreys, not a few of them weak or at most pleasingly pretty in their work. Both Mrs. Alice Barber Stephens and Mrs. Foote, through the breadth and vigor of their drawings, stand out from the rest. They connect directly with the present day, where we see Blanche Ostertag, Sarah S. Stilwell Weber, May Wilson Preston (with the unrestrained manner of Glackens), Mrs. Rose O'Neill Wilson (whose style combines a pleasing charm with unctuous breadth), and those clever products of the influence of Pyle,—Elizabeth Shippen Green, Violet Oakley, Charlotte Harding and Jessie Willcox Smith (children a specialty) exemplifying the various possibilities resulting from the application of the female temperament to the problems of illustration.

This diversion, brought about by the all too convenient classification by sex, was of course anachronistic. We are supposed to be still in the seventies, and there are yet to be noted some designs drawn for reproduction by John La Farge, scenes from the Arabian Nights and the "Wolf Charmer" (which he later repeated in oils), personal, unconventional yet balanced, as all of this thoughtful artist's work was bound to be.

And during all these years, the domain of the schoolbook was exploited and developed to a noteworthy ex-

tent. George G. White, Henry F. Farny, Alfred Fredericks and others signed the woodcut illustrations in the readers over which many of us pored at school. The preface of E. J. Lewis's "American Sportsman," 1857, in which White made his début, emphasized his ability as a delineator of animals. He had a leaning toward the style of Sir John Gilbert, and eventually became connected with "sporting" and religious publications.

The influence of the illustrated press continued, quite naturally. Henry James, in "Harper's Weekly," June 14, 1890, wrote of the "art of illustration in black and white, to which American periodical literature has lately given such an impetus, and which has returned the good office by conferring a great distinction on our magazines." And Joseph Pennell, in his book on pen drawings, says, in the section on America: "The principal credit for this development must be ascribed to the intelligent support which Mr. A. W. Drake, the art editor of the *Century*, then *Scribner's Monthly*, was the first to give to the group of young men who, about this time, returned from a course of several years' study in Munich with the idea of revolutionizing art in America."

Late in the seventies, too, came that new movement in wood-engraving, emphasized with especial éclat in Juengling's cuts after James E. Kelly's remarkably free drawings for "Scribner's." In these Kelly designs, the line was absent; it was painted illustration, which we see in preponderance to-day, and it set problems for the engravers which were quite in line with the tendency to insist on tones and masses. And yet the eighties brought

not only a remarkable development of illustration, embracing the most brilliant group of men, as a group, that we ever had, but there came a widespread employment of the very medium which is essentially and incisively expressed in line,—pen-and-ink.

This artistic exploitation of the possibilities of the pen was exemplified in the work of a number of capable artists, notably Abbey, C. S. Reinhart, Alfred Brennan, W. T. Smedley and Joseph Pennell, who gives discriminating technical consideration of a number of them in his helpful book on "Pen Drawing and Pen Draughtsmen" (1889). Pennell's book, by the way, is dedicated "to A. W. Drake, W. Lewis Fraser, Charles Parsons, Richmond Seeley, four men who should be honored for their encouragement of pen drawing," this list of four including three Americans.

Edwin A. Abbey, "endowed," as Miss E. L. Cary says, "with the instinct for the exquisite and the old," reconstructed the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries for us in his drawings for "Old Songs" and Goldsmith's "She Stoops to Conquer" with a vividness and grace that quite obliterate the preparatory labor of his historical and antiquarian studies. Furthermore, the light, caressing strokes of his pen graphically illustrated the easy craftsmanship, the finest technique, which attains its result with no trace of effort. "For grace and refinement," wrote Pennell, "he ranks second to none"; those were indeed the salient characteristics of his drawings. That appears also in his famous Shakespeare illustrations, in which W. H. Downes found refinement, tenderness,

From "Harper's Magazine." Copyright 1908, by Harper & Brothers

"There Never Was Anything the Least Serious Between Us"
Illustration for Henry James's "Julia Bride," by W. T. Smedley

grace, rather than dramatic force or grandeur. Human character eluded him in a measure. Large human sympathies he did not express. "The characters of Shakespeare," writes Samuel Isham, "have become intimate personal friends; we are not to be put off with a jeweled stomacher, or an Italian terrace. Abbey did as well as any one has ever done, and gave us a series of graceful figures." Yet there is a charm, an atmosphere in all his work that saves it from being a cold record of antiquarian facts, and to the artist it is a delight in its command of the medium.

Quite different in character is the work of Charles Stanley Reinhart, in whom a forceful directness was joined to what some one has described as a "quick grasp and holding of characteristics of various national and social types." This last point is emphasized in the article on Reinhart by Henry James ("Harper's Weekly," June 14, 1890): "He likes to represent characteristics, —he rejoices in the specifying touch." For C. D. Warner's "Their Pilgrimage" (1886) he furnished what James termed a "rich and curious pictorial accompaniment," and his numerous designs for G. P. Lathrop's "Spanish Vistas" are set down by the same authority as "delightful notes of an artist's quest of the sketchable."

In contrast to the incisive rich blacks of Reinhart's technique is the more suave, repressed method of W. T. Smedley, a method in harmony with the manners of the well-bred, comfortable middle class which he has depicted with particularly happy seizure of essential nature. He

has had a keen eye for the individualities which the monotonous sameness of fashionable attire often veils, as well as for the character that the very fit of the clothes themselves discloses to the observant eye. This same sympathetic and subtle psychological analysis penetrating the social attitude of well-mannered people is carried also into his painted portraits with a quiet effectiveness that brings us close to his sitters and enlists our human interest.

It is a different class that has been pictured with particular success by A. B. Frost, that of our farming districts. Joel Chandler Harris said of him (1904): "The one characteristic that marks all the work of Mr. Frost, the one quality that stands out above the rest, is its persistent and ever-present humor." But this humor was expressed through a genial sympathy for his subjects, so that we get real people in his drawings, people whose nature meets our sympathy and interest, and not the foolish "rube" of the comic sheets. Frost has, as H. C. Bunner puts it, "the charm of a convincing naturalness" ("Harper's Magazine," October, 1892). In his collection of drawings "Sports and Games in the Open" (1899), with their joy in out-door life, we feel this same whole-souled, kindly absorption in the point-of-view of the characters whom he despicts. Robert Bridges, writing of Frost in the "Book-Buyer," March, 1894, quotes F. Hopkinson Smith as saying that "no man laughs effectively with pen or brush who does not laugh with his own soul first." He illustrated, with much finish, A. W. Tourgee's "Hot Plowshares" (1883), but better known, more spontaneous, more the outcome of his na-

ture, are his little drawings for F. R. Stockton's "Rudder Range." His delightful treatment of two such different books as H. C. Bunner's "Story of a New York House" and "Uncle Remus" is also to be noted. In delineating various types of American life he came across the negro at various times, his *Music for the Dance* and a negro version of "the ant and the cricket" being his most characteristic efforts in that field that I have seen.

The black man was particularly cultivated by Edward W. Kemble ("Uncle Tom's Cabin"). Furthermore, in the apportionment of specialties, J. O. Davidson,—of whom F. Hopkinson Smith, I think, said he "knows our ships, especially the older ones, as no other artist knows them,"—M. J. Burns and F. S. Cozzens became identified with the sea and its ships; J. Carter Beard with animal life; and William Hamilton Gibson with animal and plant life. Gibson used pen and pencil in a number of volumes ("Sharp Eyes," "Happy Hunting Grounds," "Pastoral Days") to familiarize a larger public in a charming and graceful manner with characteristic features of that life and with "the idyllic qualities of nature," as Horace E. Scudder put it in the "Book Buyer," February, 1888. Gilbert Gaul, H. A. Ogden (with Revolutionary times as a sub-specialty), W. H. Shelton, Rufus F. Zogbaum and Thure de Thulstrup illustrated military life. Zogbaum's work has a certain stiffness of drawing somewhat appropriate in the delineation of humanity drilled into the impersonality of the soldier, whom he has described for us with pen and pencil. As for Thulstrup,

though he has seemed most at home in military art, he has had to treat the most varied subjects, and has acquitted himself well, thanks to his good and facile draughtsmanship, his easy command of materials.

The West was pre-eminently the domain of Frederic Remington, who delineated its military types, frontiersmen, cowboys and Indians with a vehement realism and uncompromising fidelity, an unbiased and breezy freshness of original perception that were fascinating. His language was always to the point, even when not quite adequate, as possibly in some foreign military types. "What makes Remington's Indian sketches so real and so fine," wrote one critic, "is that he knows it all himself." And Mrs. Schuyler Van Rensselaer, reviewing his illustrations for the "Song of Hiawatha" (1890), said: "Remington is always sincere, spirited, individual and interesting."

One could not find a much greater contrast to Remington's rough-and-ready use of pen-and-ink than Alfred Brennan's loving and insinuating courtship of the same medium. Pennell wrote that he "most certainly was and is the master of this school of American draughtsmen," the school referred to being a group showing "intelligent adaptation of the methods of Fortuny, Rico and Vierge, of the artists of 'Fliegende Blätter,' and of the draughtsmen of Japan." Those were the days when Frederick Lungren showed "great power of expression conveyed with very few and simple lines." Robert F. Blum drew stunning Fortuny-like things such as his portrait of Joseph Jefferson as "Bob Acres," and Reginald

B. Birch, in his illustrations for "Little Lord Fauntleroy," combined charm and sweetness and the artistic sense in a noteworthy manner. Brennan, who had a vein of extravagant fancy, was described as "unconventional and often startling," and again ("New York Tribune," October 16, 1891) as "an assiduous cultivator of whimsicality as a fine art." He injected a quite personal element into whatever he did, a peculiar flavor which pervaded even when he was simply re-drawing a photograph. Pennell comments thus on a drawing of a stairway: "There is nothing stupid and nothing photographic, and yet it was made from a photograph."

In those days, photographs were not rendered directly in half-tone; they were re-drawn in pen-and-ink, and this work was done by men such as Kenyon Cox, Otto H. Bacher, Wiles, Thulstrup, Farny. I remember even some small pictures of golf-sticks, carefully delineated by W. H. Drake for the "Century" in 1892.

There are plenty more names of illustrators who were actively engaged in this period of the eighties: E. H. Garrett, Frank T. Merrill, Henry Sandham (Canadian subjects), Frank M. Gregory ("Faust," 1888), Frederick Dielman (Susan Warner's "Wide, Wide World," 1888, and "Queechy," 1893), Charles Graham, W. A. Rogers, Henry F. Farny (finely drawn bits of Indian life), C. A. Vanderhoof, Alfred Fredericks. John W. Alexander drew some noteworthy portraits,—that of Walt Whitman, for instance.

The general field of illustration at that time is covered in chatty and genial comment in F. Hopkinson Smith's

"American Illustrators" (1892), while individual figures were considered in a series of articles in the "Book Buyer," in 1893-4, on Church, Smedley, Sterner, Kemble, Wiles, Remington, Gibson and others.

In the nineties, B. West Clinedinst, H. Denman, Eric Pape, Charles Copeland, Charles Broughton, H. C. Edwards, W. Granville Smith and André Castaigne in various ways answered to the demand for illustration.

Many of the artists named were professional illustrators, entirely devoted to their specialty. But some were painters who placed themselves at the service of the sister art for a limited period or occasionally. Among these was also Walter Shirlaw, who in his drawings for Edward Eggleston's "Roxy," or in such magazine illustrations as those picturing rolling mills (a subject that attracted the painters Menzel in Germany and John F. Weir in this country), carried into the duodecimo or octavo page his predilection for rich, succulent tones and broad decorative effects. Pennell finds that he "gave some of the most artistic renderings of commonplace things ever produced in America." In what one writer (F. J. Mather, Jr., I think) calls the "shifting membership" of the craft, there were temporarily enlisted also such painters as Childe Hassam, Irving R. Wiles, W. L. Metcalf, E. W. Deming, Francis Day and E. H. Blashfield, who emphasized pictorially the results of antiquarian and historical research, in "Italian Cities," by Mrs. Blashfield and himself.

Three noteworthy instances of an incursion by a painter

into the domain of illustration are found in Kenyon Cox's pictures for Rossetti's "Blessed Damozel" (which Julian Hawthorne, in the "World," N. Y., 1886, pronounced as "of singular merit"), Will H. Low's "illustrative designs" for the "Lamia" of Keats (1885), and Elihu Vedder's accompaniment of drawings for the Rubaiyat of Omar Khayyam (1884). The last-named, beside their merit and value as illustrative drawings, gain much also from the circumstance that each page of the book is drawn, text as well as the surrounding design, by the same hand. That emphasizes the advantage and importance of having the book, as a mechanical product, one connected whole, "cast in one piece." Text and illustrations are thus in harmony, instead of having the latter in no relation to the type, a separateness emphasized today by the frequent appearance of the plate as something extraneous to the book, on a sheet of different paper to hold the half-tone, tipped in loosely and coming out all too easily.

This matter of unity in the design of a book was exemplified in a measure also by the 1887 edition of "Odes and Sonnets" by Keats, for which W. H. Low designed not only illustrations,—in which, said the "New York Tribune" of December 13, 1887, he "approached his difficult task in a spirit of perfect sympathy and sincerity,"—and decorative floral panels for each page, but the cover and lining papers as well. Illustration as a decorative element was emphasized also in the thousand marginal drawings for "Ben Hur" (1891) by Wm. Martin Johnson, and the same artist's decorative borders

for Reade's "The Cloister and the Hearth" (1893), as also in Albert Herter's illustrations and cover designs for Cable's "Creole Days" and "Grandissimes." And there was Ludvig Sandoe Ipsen's charming work in an edition of Mrs. Browning's "Love Sonnets" (1886), which has been described as a magnificent piece of decorative book-making; "Nothing like this has ever been done in this country before," wrote R. H. Stoddard at the time. It was indeed a time of holiday books and sumptuously illustrated editions, graced by the work of George Wharton Edwards (Spenser's "Epithalamion," 1895), Childe Hassam, Wm. St. John Harper (Keat's "Endymion," 1888) and W. L. Taylor (Owen Meredith's "The Earl's Return," 1886, Tennyson's "Holy Grail," 1887). There was, too, the archaizing effect of the designs made by the brothers Rhead—George W., Frederick and Louis—for "Pilgrim's Progress" (1898).

The facile entrance of painters into this field indicates influences at work which characterize our book-illustration in these later days. The freedom in the choice of materials and in the size of the original drawing which the artist gained through the method of photographing the drawing on to the wood block and through the subsequent use of the half-tone, would naturally draw the painter occasionally into the service of the sister art. On the other hand, this same circumstance would lead the illustrator to the use of paint and brush, so that the line of demarcation between illustrator and painter became perhaps less clearly defined.

The continued activity of various illustrators who came

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VIEWING THE BATTLE OF BUNKER HILL
By Howard Pyle

into notice in the last fifteen years of the nineteenth century brings us to the present time.

A particularly noteworthy connecting link between the last generation and the present was Howard Pyle. Not only by reason of his thirty years of prominent attainment, but also through the alertness of his point of view and his serious attitude toward his art, which gave him preeminence until the day of his death. A realist always; yet his realism, while stern, was never crass. With a style that seemed at first sight inflexible he combined a keenness of observation that served him in the treatment of scenes in widely different lands, times and strata of society. "Versatile," one would say, were there not the fear of a by-taste, in that term, of glib facility,—particularly foreign to him. The periods and subjects which he covered were varied indeed: seventeenth century England and France, the American Revolution and our Civil War, buccaneers, Robin Rood, the divers and fishermen of our coasts and Holmes's "One Hoss Shay" and "Autocrat of the Breakfast Table." For a time he was his own author, seemingly equally at home whether writing of Robin Hood for boys, or recounting in vivid terms the exploits of "The Buccaneers and Marooners of America" (1890). "Nowhere," wrote Hopkinson Smith, "have I seen text better idealized or illustrations better described than in that series of articles by Pyle on the 'Buccaneers.'" As Samuel Isham says: "Surely never before were pirates so satisfactorily bloody-minded offered for the delectation of youth." His picture of a seaman *marooned* sticks in the memory with all the pounding

emphasis of its simple dramatic force. Pyle became particularly identified with the authoritative illustration of eighteenth century America. To quote Isham again: "Pyle is the only man who seems to know thoroughly the colonial and revolutionary epoch. . . . He has represented the founders of the Republic as they were,—sturdy, hard-headed folk, with strong characters and few graces, who wore the rather rigid costumes of the time with dignity and not like singers in comic opera or dancing masters." His careful historical correctness was free from possible pedantry through the success with which he projected himself into time, place and spirit of each scene that he portrayed. Pyle came down full into the present period, preserving to the end a steadfast, virile thoroughness in his extraction and presentation of essential characteristics. Moreover, his use of the pen, with an archaic flavor that caused Pennell to characterize him as "a careful student of Duerer," was pretty well abandoned, later on, for that of the brush. He painted his illustrations; that fact, in itself, brings him in touch with the younger men of this day, who are to a great extent availing themselves of this method of working for reproduction.

Yet one of the first men to come to mind among our illustrators of the present time, Charles Dana Gibson, has used pen-and-ink almost exclusively, and has in its use achieved his finest successes. From his earlier manner, in which he delineated *Bishop Gullem, Jonathan Trump, Penelope Peachblow* and *Dolly Flicker* in various combinations to fit evanescent jokes in the comic press, with

close-set lines to form tones and local color, he developed into a free insistence on the line *per se*. His command of the pen to-day is eminently noteworthy; he has used it rarely in illustration proper, usually in what for lack of a better term has been called "cartooning." A woman art critic once said of him, "As a chronicler of well-bred American life Mr. Gibson stands easily first," and the Gibson Girl, that rare creature of his fancy—which, as shown in "The American Girl Abroad," won enthusiastic praise in the "Zeitschrift für Bildende Kunst" as far back as 1897—still weaves her spell. But Gibson has broadened out enough from that to widen his outlook on humanity. There is added force and truth in his work when he enters more clearly the field of pictorial comment and with a smile presents humanity, particularly in this country ("Americans," 1900), in its failings and virtues, its love and its sadness. He has done this in continued performances such as the "Education of Mr. Pipp" (1899) and in single leaves from the book of life, scenes in drawing-room and street, on ferry boat and in the world of the stage, with gentle humor,—satire were almost too strong a word. The point is made by insisting enough on the obvious not to trouble the beholder with too much subtlety of thought or observation. And the manner of presentation, the technique, somehow, is also so obviously adequate as to satisfy both the average citizen and the artist or connoisseur.

The "American girl" and her entourage has engaged the attention of more than one illustrator. Howard Chandler Christy (Christy book for 1906: "The Amer-

ican Girl"), A. B. Wenzell, Henry Hutt, Harrison Fisher are prominent figures in a group which strongly represents certain tendencies and characteristics of present-day illustration. Extraordinary technical facility is put to the task of evoking visions of types of girl and man, ideals of stately elegance and statuesquely athletic vigor that appeal to many. Perhaps they are gratified to feel themselves part of an imaginary world of such remarkable paragons of physical and mental excellence. It puts the beholder in a wonderful land where all is "swell," where beauty and luxury reign, a sort of enchanted isle without the sensuous languor of Cythère. A round of sumptuous drawing-rooms and opera boxes and fine functions, with an air of "upper ten" gaiety and the fine perfume of the automobile pervading it all. This long array of American girls and men of impeccable appearance, both creating and responding to a want, a fad of long duration perhaps, is interrupted in the case of an artist such as James Montgomery Flagg. To dash and facility he joins an evident strong sense of humor, a saving grace which restores balance in point of view, bringing us more into accord again with things as they really are. Flagg, like Gibson, is active not so much as an illustrator, but as a producer of individual drawings emphasizing each some particular idea, a form that enters the realm of pictorial satire. The other exponents, who have been named, of certain modern tendencies, have also, to a great extent, produced work that is issued independently, on its own account, and not in accompaniment of any continuous text.

The art of book-illustrating, which has its finest success

in the intelligent wedding of picture and text, in the unfolding of originality within the limits set, has been and is practised, in these times, by a number of able and discriminating artists.

Consideration of present-day illustration must be based on the principles of the art. Illustration must elucidate the text or adorn it; it may do both, but at all events it must be in harmony with the text. I have not in mind the occasional lapse on the part of an artist, the oversight that produces an unwarranted change in the appearance of a character, or an anachronism in costume, or the construction of a scene distinctly different from the author's description. Such matters may be left to the letter-writing reader of "literary supplements," who will be sure to air his discovery in his paper. Our illustration has suffered not so much from such mistakes as from a tendency to parade cleverness in place of thoroughness, to dazzle the eye by a display of glittering superficiality. One cannot expect all illustrators to adopt the method of a Menzel in his accompaniment of pictorial comment to the works of Frederick the Great. In fact, such a combination of gradgrind industry, technical power and mental equipment as he possessed is rather rare. But one may at least ask that certain prominent creators of American types or matinée ideals shall not use a few models posing frankly as the most varying personages. The burden of duty toward art is borne rather too lightly when the same heroic "full dress" type is employed to represent both the society man and the Italian excursion boat fiddler. They have unfortunately produced others of this ilk,

clever imitators, a diluted solution of their undoubtedly clever prototypes. Oliver Herford, in "The Astonishing Tale of a Pen-and-Ink Puppet, or The Gentle Art of Illustrating," from one drawing of a man and one of a girl constructed manikins which he readjusted into caricatures of the "he and she" drawings familiar to readers of books and magazines.

Luckily we are not wholly dominated by this school, although it has often held the center of the stage, brilliant in the lime-light's glare. If there have been "stars" not free from glittering rant, we have also had a very good stock company.

Smedley's delicate psychological analysis and Pyle's thoroughness and insight have been spoken of. To these two is to be added Arthur I. Keller, very prominently identified with recent *de luxe* editions of American classics (Longfellow's "Hanging of the Crane," etc.) and known also as the illustrator of Wister's "Virginian," F. H. Smith's "Caleb West" and many other books. His conscientious study of the authors' intentions and characters is embodied in a style that is free and spontaneous. You feel that his illustrations are adequately in harmony with the written word, yet the artist is not merely a reflection of the author. The latter, as it were, speaks to us in the pictures through a discriminating personality that has added life to the characters visualized for us. He seems particularly happy in the representation of groups of people in their temporary mental and physical relations.

It is work such as that of these three which constitutes

the real backbone of modern illustration and emphasizes the fact that cleverness, the use of dashing types and a brilliant, swagger style are not in themselves the sole elements of the best art. Serious accomplishment appeared also in the illustrations of the late Walter Appleton Clark (an appreciation of whose broad, bold, sympathetic work appeared in the "International Studio" in 1907), F. C. Yohn, the late Louis Loeb and Albert Sterner. Sterner's drawings for "Prue and I," by G. W. Curtis, as Hopkinson Smith said, "preserved the very essence and sweetness of the aroma of [this] charming story." His art is dealt with in an article by Christian Brinton, in "Putnam's Magazine" for July, 1907. Other names more or less familiar to the public in these days of the ubiquitous illustration are W. J. Aylward, Stanley M. Arthurs, Jay Hambidge, the Kinneys, Clifford Carleton, Orson Lowell, Edmund M. Ashe, W. D. Stevens, Frederic D. Steele, Jules Guerin (a painter of delicate visions of city scenes), J. R. Shaver, Thomas Fogarty, W. L. Jacobs, C. Allan Gilbert, C. K. Linson, G. Wright, Reuterdahl, F. Luis Mora, E. L. Blumenschein, Lucius W. Hitchcock, Ernest C. Peixotto, Vernon Howe Bailey, W. J. Glackens, L. Maynard Dixon, John Cecil Clay, Gordon Grant, John Edwin Jackson and Victor S. Perard. If they do not all exemplify fully the illustrator's function to illustrate, they do accentuate the great advance in the general level of technique. Also, individual temperament and predisposition have indicated pretty clearly the line of subjects for each one, so, that, for example, we look naturally to Glackens, not Grant, for pictures of the "lower order,"

to Bailey, not Guerin, for straightforward statements of urban architectural facts, to Steele, not Ashe, for delineations of life on the docks.

An element of importance is the great improvement of reproductive methods. The photo-mechanical processes have done incalculable good in facilitating and cheapening publication, and have brought good art where it was not so easily brought before. But they have not been an entirely unmixed good. Also, the ease of reproducing drawings done in wash or oils has dimmed to sight the essential significance of the line. The close relation between printing-type and the line-drawn illustration, ornament or initial, is apt to be overlooked. Recognition of the importance of this harmony between component parts has caused the production of books with type, pictures, end papers and covers designed by one artist. Of European artists, William Morris or Joseph Sattler are names that quite naturally come to mind, although they represent different individual taste and temperament.

As to the question of the *raison d'être* of illustration, that is not one to be discussed here. It has been brought up repeatedly, for instance in a symposium of authors and writers in the "Bookman," 1904, and in the "Academy" in the same year. Accepting illustration as an established factor, there are certain sane principles which may safely be insisted on. Why should a book be illustrated at all hazards, whether the text calls for such addition or not? The only reason is that of effecting sales, as it is also in the case of pictures with little regard to the text, issued to attract attention. Why should not

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Illustration by Arthur I. Keller. From "Tomorrow's Tangle," by Geraldine Bonner

some discrimination be shown in the choice of an illustrator? When the New York "Times" of October 13, 1906, cited as instances the selection of E. W. Kemble to make drawings for the "Vicar of Wakefield" and Elizabeth Shippen Green to illustrate the "City of Dreadful Night," its criticism was derogatory to the publishers, not to the artists. If then, finally, there is shown more frequently a regard for the book as a product, in itself, in its entirety, of craftsmanship governed by good taste, we may be content with such a counterbalance to the deteriorating effects of over-production.

CHAPTER XII

CARICATURE

THE corrective force of pictorial satire did not enter as a factor into the political development of this country until the first low rumblings of the coming revolutionary thunder storm made themselves heard. And even then, American production played no prominent part; the colonists were too busy in maintaining the contest, in legislative halls and later on the field of battle, to give native talent in caricature—assuming that there was such—much opportunity to develop.

In the inevitable clash between French and British interests, in the uncertain times when the Revolution cast its shadows before, and during the war itself, caricature indeed had its part, but its execution was foreign. It was abroad that the aid of the comic art was exerted most vigorously in favor of the struggling colonies. Not only in the countries unfriendly to England, in France and Holland and Spain, but in England itself did these sharp attacks on the policy of the mother country appear. An exhibition of Mr. R. T. Haines Halsey's collection of cartoons of this period, held in New York a few years ago, offered a remarkable review of the nature and extent of this pictorial comment. In our present day of facile reproduction, when every third daily paper appears to have its cartoonist, when every little political local hap-

pening is humorously pictured next day, the two and a half hundred cartoons in the exhibition referred to may not at first blush appear a great number. But when we consider that every one of these prints, poor even as some of them were, had to be more or less laboriously engraved on copper, the output seems decidedly large.

These old cartoons are apt to comment on more general and far-reaching events and principles than the little happenings, or acts of individuals, of minor importance, which so frequently form the subject of the pictorial joke of our daily press, thrown away on the day it is published. There is usually little art to speak of in these old cartoons; often they are quite crude, although one occasionally comes across early designs by Gillray or Rowlandson which already foreshadow the facile style of those artists. But as historical documents these old engravings are of interest and value; in them, contemporary opinion is mirrored in most graphic manner. In these prints the struggle between France and England for supremacy in the New World is reflected, and the rise of Scotch influence at the English court indicated. Then comes the Stamp Act period (to 1773), with prints nearly all friendly to America; in one of them, referring to budget troubles, an Indian appears *taxed without representation.* The Boston Port Bill (1774) called forth a series of mezzotints described in "The Boston Port Bill as pictured by a contemporary London cartoonist," by R. T. H. Halsey (Grolier Club: 1904); one of these deals with the resolution of the women of Edenton, N. C., to drink no more tea and wear no more British clothes. The largest group

was that dealing with the Revolution, and it consisted of English, Dutch and French engravings. In the French and Dutch productions, Britannia figuring as a cow, being milked by France, Spain and Holland, while America saws off her horns (means of defense), is a favorite device. One of the Dutch artists shows John Paul Jones castigating the queen of the seas, and a French picture depicts Arnold as a little boy enraged at seeing himself cheated out of the price of his treason. France's glory is displayed in a scene in which she drives England from America while the inhabitants joyfully dance around a pole surmounted by a liberty cap. The British caricatures, on the whole, were also not unfriendly to the colonies. They show a tendency to treat America as a wayward child, a dupe of her confederates *Monsieur Louis Baboon* (France), *Don Diego* (Spain) and *Mynheer Frog* (Holland), which three are frequently and vigorously attacked, as is the home government. The American rattlesnake holding two British armies (Burgoyne's and Cornwallis's) in its coils, and ready for a third, is a striking production. The chapter is closed by a picture published in 1783, with the inscription:

"Britannia: 'Come, come, shake hands, and let's be friends.'

"America: 'With all my heart, I've gained my ends.'"

But the troubles of this period called forth also at least a few caricatures by colonial talent, notably some by Paul Revere, the silversmith. Whether or not that worthy took his famous ride, he did his share in comment-

ing pictorially on the attitude of Britain to her colonies. Not only in his famous *Boston Massacre* print, but in allegorical compositions, *A View of the Year 1765* and *Stamp Act repealed* (the obelisk print, 1766), both dealing with the Stamp Act. Likewise in caricatures: *The Rescinders, The Able Doctor, or America swallowing the Bitter Draught* (tea forced down her throat), June, 1774, *The Mitred Minuet* around the Quebec Bill, October, 1774, and *America in Distress,* February, 1775, the last three published in the "Royal American Magazine."

Sometimes an event of local interest would occasion a satirical design of home manufacture, the engraving of which might fall to one with a sense of humor or not. Of such sporadic cases a few are noted in the annals of engraving on copper. Nathaniel Hurd in 1762 caricatured Dr. Seth Hudson and a certain Mr. Howe, convicted of counterfeiting. Henry Dawkins is credited by Thomas Westcott ("History of Philadelphia") with several large plates "caricaturing events in the political history of Philadelphia in 1764." One of these last-named was probably the one showing *the advance of the Paxton boys upon Philadelphia* (1764), suggested by C. R. Hildeburn to be by James Claypoole, Jr., but believed by Stauffer to be probably the work of Dawkins, it being dedicated by "H. D." Two of these plates, relating to the election of 1764 and the "Paxton Boys," are reproduced in P. L. Ford's "Many-sided Franklin" (New York, 1899).

Franklin himself is associated with the invention of two of the most noted satirical designs of the day. One

was the device of a serpent, cut into pieces, one for each colony, with the motto *Join or die* or *Unite or die.* This appeared in the "Pennsylvania Gazette," the "Boston Gazette" and the "Boston News Letter" in 1754, the "Boston Evening Post" in 1765 (Stamp Act period), and again before the Revolution, in the "Pennsylvania Journal," 1774. Lossing, in his "Field Book of the Revolution," tells us that the loyal papers roundly condemned this cut, a writer in "Rivington's Royal Gazette" calling it a "scandalous and saucy reflection." Albert Matthews, in his "The Snake Devices, 1754-1776, and the Constitutional Courant, 1765" (Cambridge, 1908), says that the famous snake devices "presumably originally owed their existence to the suggestion of Franklin." The other Franklin cut represented Britain dismembered, a limbless trunk, turning tearful eyes to heaven, while beside her lie her legs, arms, hands and feet, representing the colonies, cut off and leaving her helpless (1774).

James Parton, in his "Caricature and other Comic Art" (New York, 1877), calls attention also to another newspaper heading, the row of Boston Massacre coffins, mutely voicing the colonists' protest. And there was a bit of pictorial humor *post festum,* the nine copper-plates by E. Tisdale illustrating the 1795 edition of Trumbull's "McFingal."

The period about the end of the Revolution was not notably productive of caricature. Perhaps the cause is to be found in the lack of home talent, perhaps in the fact that despite the politico-military cabaling of some generals

during the war and the growing difference between Federal and Republican principles afterward, the country was united in the struggle for national existence. Dissenting opinion grew, however. William Maclay commented in his "Diary" on the excessive adulation of Washington and the monarchical tendencies of his followers. Opposition to the "Father of his Country" took pictorial form as well. Lossing, in "Our Country" (Vol. 2, p. 1123), records that on the day after Washington's arrival in New York, as president-elect, a caricature appeared, "full of disloyal and profane allusions." In it the president was shown mounted on an ass, in the arms of his body servant Billy. Colonel David Humphreys, leading the animal, is "chanting hosannahs and birthday odes," while the devil remarks that "the glorious time has come to pass when David shall conduct an ass." Yet in the catalogue of the E. B. Holden sale, No. 1088 is described as the "only known caricature of Washington." This represents "Mrs. General Washington, bestowing thirteen stripes on Britannia" with the lash.

Most of the caricatures of the day, as will be seen, were anti-Federalist, but the idol of the Republican Party came in for at least one vigorous pictorial knock. In a pamphlet by Robert G. Harper, probably issued in 1797, entitled "Observations on the Dispute between the U. S. and France," the frontispiece presents a caricature of Jefferson in allusion to his alleged atheistic tendencies and his attachment to the cause of the French Revolution. Similarly, the doctrines of Thomas Paine were dealt with in a large and poor plate entitled *Church and State,* signed

B. Picart, and issued, we are told, by H. D. Robinson, New York, "about 1800."

A very crude print depicted an exchange of amenities in Congress (1798), of a kind that has again occurred much more recently in Washington, Matthew Lyon and Roger Griswold being the members implicated. Under this caricature were these lines:

> "He in a trice struck Lyon thrice
> Upon the head, enrag'd, sir,
> Who seiz'd the tongs to ease his wrongs
> And Griswold thus engag'd, sir."

The plate appears in the "Historical Magazine" for January, 1864, where reference is made also to a caricature of an earlier fracas between these two gentlemen, in which Lyon is represented as the king of beasts on his hind legs. That, after all, was a record of a personal intermezzo. Of more significance was the comment on the proceeding which to this day is termed "gerrymandering." In 1811 the Massachusetts legislature rearranged the senatorial districts of the state so as to secure power to the Democrats, Governor Gerry signing the measure. In Essex County the arrangement as to towns was "particularly absurd." Gilbert Stuart, seeing a map on which the towns thus selected were indicated by particular colors, noted the similarity to some monstrous animal. Indicating the same with a few touches, he said to Russell, of the "Boston Centinel," "that will do for a salamander." "Salamander," was the reply; "call it Gerrymander."

By the time the War of 1812 loomed in sight, the home

product in comic art became a little more prominent. Quincy's opposition to the "War act" of the Administration (1812) roused bitter attacks in squibs, epigrams and caricatures. One of the last, by William Charles, entitled *Josiah the First,* pictured Quincy as a king (in reference to his political domination), with crown and scepter, with an inscription in which he proclaimed himself *King of New England, Nova Scotia and Passamaquoddy* and *Grand Master of the Noble Order of the Two Codfishes,* the last perhaps in reference to the "importance of the codfishery to the welfare of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts," as John Rowe put it when proposing the placing of the representation of a codfish in the state house at Boston, where it hung from 1784 on.

The Embargo Act of April 14, 1812, was strongly denounced by anti-administration speakers and newspapers, and the land trade with Canada, which had become suddenly arrested by it, was represented by a bewildered serpent, stopped by two trees labeled respectively Embargo and Non-Intervention. The Gallic cock stands by, joyously crowing. The passage of the Embargo Act in December, 1813, designed to prevent the furnishing of supplies to the enemy and the importation of British manufactures in professedly neutral vessels evoked a caricature designed and engraved by Alexander Anderson. A former embargo, during Jefferson's administration, was called by the opposition Federalists "a terrapin policy." In recollection of that, Anderson has the act of 1813 personified by a monstrous terrapin who has seized a violator of the law by the seat of his breeches, he crying

out, *Oh! this cursed o-grab-me* [embargo spelled backward]! The fling was aimed at the New England people, who were supposed to be saving their coasts from devastation, and filling their pockets at the same time, by supplying the British cruisers with provisions. On the repeal of the measure, the "Death of the Embargo" was celebrated in verses in the "Federal Republican," subsequently republished in the "Evening Post" (New York) with a design by John Wesley Jarvis, also engraved by Anderson, whose burin thus served both sides. The cut illustrates a poem entitled the *Terrapin's Address,* and beginning:

> "Reflect, my friend, as you pass by,
> As *you* are *now,* so once was I."

All these war prints will be found reproduced in Lossing's "Field Book of the War of 1812."

The Hartford Convention naturally called forth Democratic attacks. The administration party issued a handbill (reproduced in "Harper's Popular Cyclopedia of U. S. History") in which the Federal Party is represented by the devil and the Democratic by a comely young woman with a palm leaf.

The most noteworthy productions in caricature engendered by the war, however, were the dozen or so of prints by William Charles. It appears that he was a native of Edinburgh, who left that city for this country about 1801 to avoid the consequences of having caricatured some of the magistrates. He practised his art successively in New York and Philadelphia, and died in the

latter city, where he had a book and print shop, in 1821. His caricatures are typical of the Rowlandson-Gillray period; one of them, *John Bull making a new Batch of Ships to send to the Lakes,* being evidently directly inspired by Gillray's *Tiddy-Doll, the great French Gingerbread Baker, drawing out a new Batch of Kings.* While not remarkable, they yet have a certain rough humor which no doubt made them popular in those days of excitement. A noteworthy one was *A Wasp on a Frolic, or a Sting for John Bull,* giving expression to the exultation at the victory of the "Wasp" over the "Frolic," in which the somewhat obvious conceit of a huge wasp stinging John Bull was effectively utilized. Another one (September, 1813) celebrated Perry's victory in a pictorial pun on the word "perry," the name for the fresh juice of the pear, which is apt to produce uncomfortable digestive phenomena. King George is seated, his hand on his stomach, writhing in pain, rejecting offers of more "Perry" from Queen Charlotte, who holds an open bottle, from which is spouting foam bearing the names of the American vessels in the battle. Various inscriptions add to the humor of the print, which is emphasized also in these lines in a ballad of the day:

> "On Erie's wave, while Barclay brave
> With *Charlotte* making merry,
> He chanced to take the belly-ache
> We drenched him so with Perry."

"Charlotte" was one of the British vessels, and a pun on the queen's name is intended, of course. Charles

issued also prints relating to embargo (*The Cat let out of the Bag,* a later impression of which has the title *The Tory Editor and his Apes giving their pitiful Advice to the American Sailors*), the *Hartford Convention, or Leap, no Leap,* and the ones entitled *John Bull and the Baltimoreans, Johnny Bull and the Alexandrians* (he demands their flour, tobacco, provisions, ships, "everything except your porter and perry. . . . I've had enough of them already") and *Bruin become Mediator or Negotiations for Peace.*

Another naval victory, that of the "Hornet" over the "Peacock," February, 1813, brought Amos Doolittle into caricature. His engraving (reproduced in Lossing's "Field Book of the War of 1812," p. 700) showed an immense hornet, alighting, with the cry *Free trades and sailor's rights, you old rascal,* on the head of a bull with the wings and tail of a peacock. (Doolittle, by the way, did also a hand-colored etching representing Napoleon hemmed in by the Russian bear, the British lions and other animals in the zoological garden of Europe's national symbolism.)

The years immediately succeeding the war do not appear to have borne much fruit in comic art. Occasionally you will come across a print such as the etching *Democracy against the Unnatural Union. Trial Oct. 14, 1817. Designed and executed by one who has neither place nor pension,* or the colored aquatint showing John Binns carrying a pile of coffins, from which emerge Henry Clay and J. Q. Adams. It is entitled *The Pedlar and his Pack, or the Desperate Effort, an Over Balance.*

Begar Mounseer Bull me no like dis new Alliance – Dere be one Yankey Man da call Mad Do-enough Take your Ships by de whole Fleet – You better try get him for I never get Do-enough made at dis rate !!!
Ay! What – What – What! Brother Jonathan taken another whole fleet on the Lakes – Must work away – work away – & send some more or He'll have Canada next –
Here are more Guns for the Lake service. If ever they do but get there. I hear the last you sent were waylaid by a sly Yankey Fox and the ships being a Stranger he has taken her in –
I tell you what Master Bull – You had better keep both your Ships and Guns at home – If you send all you've got to the Lakes, it will only make fun for the Yankeys to take them –
Patent Oven for Baking Ships
French Dough Enough

A Caricature of the War of 1812
By William Charles

As Charles had been a rough reflex of Gillray, so David Claypoole Johnston (1797-1865) was a somewhat weak dilution of Cruikshank. Johnston evidently had no easy time to make ends meet; he did many things and used various methods, all with a certain technical fluency up to a certain point: portraits in lithography and stipple, book illustrations and caricatures in etching. The last he issued in oblong quarto booklets, under the title *Scraps,* during the thirties and forties, of five plates each, every plate including a number of sketches, the whole in the manner of Cruikshank's *Sketch Book.* On the last sheet of one of the parts he depicted himself figuring the price charged for each sheet,—two cents " and no charge for letter press matter." A fair example of his work may be found also in " Outlines illustrative of the Journal of F—— A—— K—— Drawn & etched by Mr——" (Boston, 1835), rather heavy and a bit coarse. The only political squib by him which has come to my notice was issued as late as 1863, a sheet on Jefferson Davis, *The house that Jeff built.* Scharf and Westcott, in their " History of Philadelphia," Vol. II, page 1063, tell us that his hits at dandies and local militia officers were resented and libel suits threatened, so that he temporarily abandoned art for the stage. Another Philadelphia caricaturist was Edward W. Clay (1792-1857),—" merciless," Stauffer calls him. His *The Nation's Bulwark. A well-disciplined Militia* (*Sketches of Character, No. 1,* 1829) is quite good-natured raillery, however; the nation's defenders there shown include portraits of actual individuals, among them C. G. Childs. Like Johnston

he did many things, drew views of Philadelphia for Childs, engraved in stipple, drew on stone, designed for line-engravers. James Akin drew and published *A down[w]right Gabbler,* directed at the eccentric and outspoken reformer Fanny Wright, who was lecturing in 1833-6.

The period between the War of 1812 and the Civil War had its good share of events to stir the public mind and exercise slowly growing facility in caricature. It is noteworthy that for some time to come the humor in the cartoons issued in separate sheets, lies not in any distortion in the drawing but in the underlying idea. The remarks of the various persons in the pictures are inclosed in loops issuing from their mouths, in the manner ever-recurring again, and always marking a distinctly lower grade of the art, as in so many of the dreary continuous series drawn out through successive issues of our present-day newspapers. The designer, too, generally employed a number of figures to emphasize his point. He often offered a résumé, so to speak, of the collective activity of a group of politicians and statesmen during a given period. To-day we have our pictorial comments so frequently issued that they deal each with some detail of the political situation, some individual affair or personality, and therefore often show a minimum of effort to emphasize a general principle. In those ante-bellum days, lithography appeared as a vehicle for caricature at an early date. *A new Map of the United States, with the additional Territories on an improved Plan. Exhibiting a View of the Rocky Mountains surveyed by a Company*

of Winnebago Indians in 1828 came from Imbert's establishment, and is perhaps one of the earliest examples of the entrance into caricature of the lithographic art. The latter was employed in this field a little later by H. R. Robinson, and then by Currier & Ives, whose long series of sheets, both caricatures and illustrations of public events, remain a store-house of interest to the student of the American phase of what the French call *imagerie populaire*.

It was with the first administration of Jackson, as Joseph B. Bishop ("Century Magazine," June, 1892) notes, that caricature in this country became a more frequently employed factor in political contests. Jackson's robust personality formed good material for caricatures, both those assailing and those defending his acts and measures, —the fight against the United States Bank, the affair of the "Kitchen Cabinet," and so forth. A favorite device of the caricaturist, the race between rival candidates for nomination or election, appears in *A Foot-Race*, showing Jackson and others, an etching somewhat in the style of Johnston. *Jackson clearing his Kitchen* and *Rats leaving a fallen House*, two etchings published in 1831 and referring to the dissolution of the Kitchen Cabinet, were designed by Edward W. Clay, already mentioned. This artist, who, according to Scharf and Westcott's "History of Philadelphia" (Vol. II, p. 1063), was "for more than twenty years a noted caricaturist," drew also *A Boston Notion for the World's Fair* (1844), aimed at the Abolition movement. Parton's reference to burlesque processions during the presidential campaign of 1832 is *à propos*.

The hickory pole, Nicholas Biddle as "Old Nick," and other features which figured therein, are akin to the catchwords employed by the cartoonists of that time. The war on the U. S. Bank (1837) called forth such pieces as the shinplaster caricature, *Great Locofoco Juggernaut,* in which Van Buren appears, and the two lithographs, *The Modern Balaam and his Ass* and *New Edition of Macbeth, Bank-oh's Ghost,* the last signed *C* and *printed and published by H. R. Robinson. Sub-treasurers taking long Steps,* also published by Robinson (1838), is signed *Grennell.* Still another publication by Robinson is a little volume by "Junius Junior," entitled "The Vision of Judgment" (1838), with Jackson caricatures signed *N. Sarony.*

The candidate's race idea appears again in *The Great American Steeplechase for 1844* (issued 1843 by H. R. Robinson). This publisher is the Robinson who, as Frederic Hudson says, in his history of American journalism, "lined the curbstones and covered the old fences of New York with his peculiarly characteristic caricatures during Jackson's and Van Buren's administrations."

Then the Mexican War became the topic of interest, but apparently not with the quantitative result in the field of caricature that one might perhaps have expected to find. The few pieces which I have discovered are marked by much of the amused disdain for the opponent which is found in many of our caricatures of the Spanish-American War, but by none of the bitter prejudice which characterized a few of the latter. *Uncle Sam's Taylorifics* (the Yankee snipping a Mexican in two with a huge pair of

shears) and *The Mexican Commander enjoying the Prospect opposite Matamoras* (1846), a lithograph by Sarony & Major, copyrighted by T. W. Strong, illustrate this spirit of complacent superiority. This Sarony & Major print is drawn with a certain freedom not common even to the best lithographic cartoons of the day.

Of these caricatures drawn on stone and issued in separate sheets, those bearing the name of Currier & Ives, who entered the field about 1848, are best known and most numerous. Caricature is the common and convenient name for this pictorial satire, but the feature of distortion was noticeably absent, down through the Civil War. As far as the skill of the artist went, the personages represented were depicted without exaggeration. The tendency was to draw groups of political leaders, with a free use of loops issuing from their mouths and inclosing sentiments which they are supposed to utter. The general effect of it all is somewhat stiff and labored.

But it is an interesting series, this lot of cartoons of ante-bellum and war-time days, recalling much detail of our political history. As they did not appear at regular intervals, but at the time of stirring public events, most of them were concomitants of presidential campaigns. In 1848, Marcy, Cass, Douglas, Buchanan and Houston, towed "up Salt River" by fox-bodied Van Buren, are labeled *Loco Foco Candidates traveling.* Fillmore protects the "government crib" in *Fancied Security, or the Rats on a Bender.* Webster, Scott and Pierce take part in the *Great Foot Race for the Presidential Purse* (*$100,000 and Pickings*) *over the Union Course, 1852.* When

the slavery and state's rights controversies came to a head in the movement which resulted in the formation of the Republican Party, public feeling ran high and the campaign of 1856 brought out much anti-Fremont material. In *The Great Republican Reform Party calling on their Candidate,* Fremont is promising the prohibitionist, woman's rights lady, socialist, free love advocate, the Roman Catholic Church and the negro all they want. And in *The Great Presidential Sweepstakes of 1856* Beecher and Greeley are helping along a sorry outfit containing Fremont, which appears again in *The Mustang Team,* the latter particularly free in drawing. One feels in such sheets, despite, or perhaps by very reason of, the expressed contempt for the new party, the feeling of uncertainty and unrest engendered by the approach of that irrepressible conflict, to which so many apparently tried to close their eyes, but which came on inexorably.

Some phases of the slavery controversy had been touched upon by the satirist's pencil. For instance in *E. C.'s* depiction of Buchanan and the slave question, or *Practical illustration of the fugitive slave law* (the slaveholder astride of Webster on all-fours) or *What's Sauce for the Goose is sauce for the Gander,* a lithograph by *E. W. C.,*—E. W. Clay, no doubt,—dealing with Northern protection of fugitive slaves. In most cases the pictures showed pro-slavery leanings. Abolitionism was repeatedly attacked, with especial emphasis on the dire effects of miscegenation. So in *Prof. Pompey magnetizing an Abolition Lady* (a lithograph issued by T. W. Strong, the wood-engraver), and *An Amalgamation*

Polka, a lithograph by *E. W. C.*, our Philadelphian, Clay, again. Buchanan's attitude gave rise to such cartoons as L. Maurer's *Ostend Doctrine: Practical Democrats carrying out the Principle* with the president inactive, or *South Carolina's Ultimatum,* in which Gov. Pickens is shown as wanting Sumter, while Buchanan entreats: *Don't fire till I get out of office.* In another, Buchanan is riding the dragon of slavery, and exclaims, *Pull down that fence, and make way for the "Peculiar Institution,"* the fence being Mason and Dixon's line; Fremont strongly objects.

Lithography, however, did not monopolize this specialty of caricature altogether. The woodcut served for a number of these comic sheets, T. W. Strong appearing as publisher in several cases, the designer usually anonymous, in one case signed in full: *J. H. Goater.* In one of Strong's cuts entitled *Little Bo Peep and her foolish Sheep,* the shepherdess, Columbia, seeing her sheep (the seceding states) departing, exclaims, *Sick 'em, Buck—I wish old Hickory were alive, he'd bring 'em back in no time.*

Then followed the presidential campaign of 1860, in which political feeling was at a high tension. One cannot recall any cartoon issued in New York which really gave expression to the Union sentiments which the election of Lincoln and subsequent events were to fan into a roaring flame. A few designs of well-tempered Republicanism, and as for the rest, evasive presentations of not fully relevant facts or of distorted views. In *The Rail Candidate,* the railsplitter, carried by Greeley and a negro astride a rail marked *Republican Platform,* complains:

"I begin to feel as if *this* rail would split me, it's the hardest stick I ever straddled." Other sheets in this series of lithographs are *The Nigger in the Woodpile, An Heir to the Throne* (Greeley and Lincoln complacently regarding the "heir," Barnum's "What-is-it?") and *The Impending Crisis,* both by Maurer, and *The irrepressible Conflict,* the last two dealing with Seward's failure to obtain the Republican nomination, and Greeley's agency in the matter. Mr. Bishop, who had his information from James M. Ives, stated that all of these caricatures of 1856 and 1860 were drawn by Louis Maurer. The latter, however, told me that they were not all by him, and identified a number of them as his work. These include, beside those which I have named as his, *The Great American Buck Hunt of 1856, The Political Gymnasium, Letting the Cat out of the Bag, Honest Abe taking them on the Half Shell, Storming the Castle* and *The Great Republican Party.* The Currier & Ives lithographs have been reproduced in a volume with the title: "Caricatures pertaining to the Civil War . . . 1856-72," issued in New York, 1892, in an edition of 150 copies.

With the election of Lincoln the storm broke loose, and some of the caricatures produced in the white heat of excitement in those troublous times were among the most telling of the war. And they were often not the regular lithographed sheets, but sporadic woodcut issues. The conceit which showed the seceding states as mice scampering away from "Uncle Abe" in the guise of a cat, whose paw holds down a rodent labeled *Virginia,* and

which is appropriately entitled *Virginia pausing,* opens up the long series of these war-time pictures. In many cases they appeared on envelopes, which method of publication was a very much used means for the dissemination of both Northern and Southern views; the designs and mottoes thus issued were numbered by hundreds. There was much patriotic fervor, occasional bitterness and more often good humor. *I'm glad I'm not in Dixie! Hooray! Hooray!; Come back here, you black Rascal!—Can't come back nohow, Massa, dis Chile's contraban'; Music by the Contra-Band* and *Good Noose for Traitors* (in which a picture of a hangman's rope left no doubt as to the pun intended), are sufficiently clear in title and are average examples of the kind of humor thus disseminated through the mails. I have seen seven different reproductions in reduced size, on envelopes, of a remarkably popular early war-time caricature by Frank Beard, *Why don't you take it?,* representing Davis as a greyhound slinking off before the ferocious air of a bulldog (Gen. Scott) guarding a rib of *prize beef* (Washington). D. M. Stauffer did several of these envelope designs in 1862, in small editions, however. Others beside Beard made an early appearance in those days. Thomas Worth, for instance, in *The Voluntary Manner in which some of the Southern Volunteers enlist,* or Benjamin Day—become a caricaturist only through the exigencies of the moment —who depicts Lincoln and Davis as prizefighters, in a lithograph entitled *Caving in, or a Rebel deeply humiliated.*

A probably casual incursion into a vein of mild humor,

on the part of E. B. & E. C. Kellogg, the Hartford lithographic firm, is entitled *Forward March—Uncle Sam's old Hens covering their Chickens on the way to Richmond,* the hens being the gunboats steaming up the river and spreading their wings over the chickens,—the soldiers marching on the banks. Another publisher's name out of the common is that of Hough, of Philadelphia, on a lithograph which proclaims *The Southern Confederacy a Fact,* because it has been acknowledged by the devil.

It was during the war, too, that Thomas Nast began in a series of emblematic drawings that life-work which made him famous. *Compromise with the South,* referring to the attitude of the Chicago Convention, made a notable hit in "Harper's Weekly," and was subsequently used as a campaign document. A. B. Paine, in his volume on Nast (1904), quotes Lincoln: "Thomas Nast has been our best recruiting sergeant. His emblematic cartoons have never failed to arouse enthusiasm and patriotism."

Lincoln naturally held the center of the stage in many of the pictorial lampoons of the war. The lukewarm or straight anti-Lincoln productions apparently greatly outnumbered those supporting him. Among the first may be named such lithographs as *The political Rail Splitter* driving the wedge "Irrepressible Conflict" into the log "Union," splitting it into North and South, or the one by Joseph E. Baker of Boston, *Columbia demands her Children,* she asking back her 500,000 sons, to which Lincoln remarks, "That reminds me of a story." This

phrase was used against Lincoln in various ways, and his love of humor was assailed most bitterly in a poorly drawn sheet entitled *The Commander-in-Chief conciliating the Soldiers' Votes on the Battlefield.* This represented him amid dead and wounded soldiers, saying, to the horror of the listeners: "Now, Marshal, sing us 'Picayune Butler' or something else that's funny." On the other hand, *Grand Sweepstakes for 1862 won by the celebrated Horse Emancipation,* a lithograph signed *Potomac,* signalizes approvingly an important act of Lincoln's administration. Occasionally there was a cartoon strong for Lincoln; such was *A little Game of Bagatelle, between Old Abe the Railsplitter and Little Mac the Gunboat General,* a lithograph published by J. L. Magee of Philadelphia, and signed *J. L. M. Your Plan and Mine,* a Currier and Ives sheet, put the case even more strongly in Lincoln's favor; he completely subdues the South and keeps the negro free, while his opponent weakly attempts conciliation and is ready to restore the black man to slavery. *Political caricature No. 2, 1864,* pictures *Miscegenation* as the *Millennium of Abolitionism,* and No. 3 of the same series prophesies *The Abolition Catastrophe, or The November Smash-up.* But fate willed otherwise; Lincoln was re-elected, and the war was carried on to success for the North. Jefferson Davis' attempt to escape from the Union soldiers who had him in charge was chronicled in a more or less humorous manner in more than one print, even in a pamphlet entitled "Jeff Petticoats," with "graphotype" illustrations "drawn by the celebrated artist Frank Bellew on the

chemical blocks of the Intaglio and Graphotype Co. and engraved by them in the short time of two hours." These pictures usually did not go very much beyond the facts in the case, and there is really more point to the grim conception of *Jeff Davis on his own Platform or the last Act of Secession,* in which that prominent representative of the "lost cause" stands, with the hangman's noose about his neck, on a trap about to be sprung.

Gen. McClellan likewise came in for some share of pictorial applause and criticism, mirroring the hopes which he aroused and the general opinion of his generalship. He appears in masterly inactivity at his *Headquarters at Harrisburg Landing,* in a lithograph by *Potomac,* who designed another one, *The last Round,* which was pro-McClellan in spirit. *The old Bull Dog on the right Track* (Grant) is contrasted with the protesting "little Mac," to the latter's disadvantage. In *The true Issue, or that's what's the matter,* Lincoln and Davis are hauling at opposite sides of a map of the United States, the former proclaiming "No Peace without abolition" and the latter "No peace without separation," while McClellan stays their hands, with the sentiment "The Union must be preserved at all hazards." This last was probably issued at the time of the presidential campaign of 1864, which was the occasion of a number of cartoons friendly to the general in politics. One, by J. E. Baker, shows a wounded soldier forced by a negro guard to vote for Lincoln instead of the Democratic candidate, while the poll-clerks pretend not to see. The difficulties of his position were pictured three times at least in that familiar

conception of a circus-rider with each foot on a horse, the equines striving in different directions. In the one, a reproduction of a pen-and-ink drawing somewhat in the style of Augustus Hoppin, the horses are labeled respectively *Letter of acceptance* and *Chicago Platform;* in the second, *Slow and Steady wins the Race,* Lincoln rides "Slow and Steady," while McClellan's two steeds are "Brag and Bluster" and "Fawn and Cringe"; in the third, *Little Mac in his great Two-Horse Act* is striving to control his mounts "Peace" and "War," with Lincoln as a clown standing by. This last sheet was one of T. W. Strong's woodcut publications, the drawing by J. H. Howard, a sort of weaker McLenan, and illustrator of Major Jack Downing. Howard designed also the engraving of MacClellan as Hamlet holding the head of Lincoln: *I knew him, Horatio; a fellow of infinite jest. . . . Where be your gibes now? The Grave of the Union, or Major Jack Downing's Dream, drawn by Zeke* (a lithograph issued by Bromley & Co., 1864) represents Lincoln, Greeley *et al.* burying the Constitution and free speech.

There was at least some Confederate response through the medium of the comic art. The Battle of Bull Run brought forth a derisive whoop in the shape of a very poor lithograph *from a pfothogr.,* and B. Duncan of Columbia, S. C., issued a series of better designed plates with the suggestive title *Dissolving Views of Richmond,* one signed with a monogram *J. W.* But the most interesting and, by all odds, best designed Southern production was a series of etched *War Sketches* by V. Blada, partly issued

abroad (London, 1864). Drawn mainly in outline, with a quite free touch, these plates, though free from caricature—except the slight exaggeration in such a case as *Valiant men "dat fite mit Sigel"*—are satirical and vigorous arraignments of Northern principles and practice. *Free Negroes in the North and in Hayti* are contrasted, and the *Substitute Office* is derided.

When we draw a line under the long Civil War column, and add up the total the sum is not so very impressive qualitatively. The possibilities of the period were perhaps not fully grasped by our caricaturists. In fact, we had no commanding figure among them, and we must go to Tenniel's cartoons in London "Punch" to get comments more in accord with the importance of this four years' struggle. This is said, of course, without reference to the ideas and point of view expressed in Tenniel's drawings. As far as his treatment of Lincoln was concerned, he joined with Tom Taylor in an *amende honorable* when the president was struck down by the assassin's hand.

The years have gone and have begun to envelop the events of those war-time days in the haze of intervening time. In the lengthening perspective of the passing generations, we are becoming able to regard even the bitterest examples of pictorial satire, both Northern and Southern, with more calmness of spirit, as documents mirroring the high-tension excitement of an exciting period.

The preponderance of the lithographed separate sheets in the field of caricature came to an end soon after the Civil War. They continued to be issued, notably in the

distorted, though in a rough way funny, "Darktown" negro comics of Thomas Worth, but as an effective weapon in the political arena they gave way before the work of the comic press and the cartoons in the weekly illustrated journals.

CHAPTER XIII

THE COMIC PAPER

THE comic paper entered more decidedly into the field of caricature not long after the Civil War. There had been previous attempts to found periodicals devoted to humor.

"Yankee Doodle" appeared in 1856, with Charles Martin as the principal artist and Darley as an occasional contributor. "Yankee Notions, or, Whittlings of Jonathan's Jack-knife," issued as a monthly by T. W. Strong of New York, made its appearance in January, 1852. A year later it advertised a circulation of 15,000, which rose to 30,000 by December, 1853, and to 150,000 in September, 1854. It lived about fifteen years. Augustus Hoppin had a full-page drawing in each number, and the contributing artists included the best talent of its time and others: John McLenan, Frank Bellew ("the triangle"), Thomas Butler Gunn, Magee, Holcomb, G. F. F., Brown, H. Egbert, Jr., Folingsby, J. H. Howard, Dallas, Wattles, and one signing with skull and cross-bones. Some drawings appeared also signed "Carl," the pseudonym of G. W. Carleton the publisher, who later put a little bird under his sketches (as did "Dicky" Doyle of London "Punch"). His very amateurish though amusing manner is shown in "Our Artist in Peru" (1866) and other similar books. We have seen

such pleasant dilettante foolery recently, particularly in Robert W. Wood's "How to tell the Birds from the Flowers" (1907), with its kinship to Lear. By 1859-60 Thomas Worth and M. A. Woolf were also among the contributors to "Yankee Notions," as well as, occasionally, W. L. Sheppard and, I think, E. F. Mullen. There were appropriations from foreign sources too, for while aspersions were cast more than once on the wit of London "Punch," that journal's cuts were not disdained and were used without credit given.

McLenan was one of the most noteworthy artists of this group. His bohemian nature was evidenced both in the often carelessly sketchy drawing of his work, and in the dash and spirit, the rollicking humor in his "comics." As an illustrator he had to turn his hand to various things, even Collins's "Woman in White," but it is as a comic artist that he really made his mark. The late A. V. S. Anthony told me that D. C. Hitchcock discovered McLenan working in a pork-packing establishment in Cincinnati, where he used to make sketches on the tops of barrels. Among the books illustrated by him was "Nothing to Say" by Mortimer M. Thompson ("Doesticks"), issued at the time of the "Nothing to Wear" controversy.

There came and went other periodical vehicles for humor: "The Lantern," edited, like "The Bubble," by John Brougham, one of whose drawings, hanging in the Players' Club, New York City, is signed *Brougham, delinquent;* "John Donkey" (Philadelphia); "Young America"; "The Picayune" (outlet for the humor of

Mortimer Thompson); "The Carpet Bag" in Boston, with B. P. Shillaber; "Mrs. Grundy" (three months in 1865, Nast and Stephens the artists); "Phunny Phellow" (Nast again); "Jolly Joker"; "The Punster" (Mobile, early seventies), and what others besides. C. G. Rosenberg even tried to establish a humorous daily, "Momus," in the fifties.

The best of all, from the literary standpoint, was "Vanity Fair" (New York), with Fitz-James O'Brien, "Artemus Ward" (Charles F. Browne), George Arnold and C. G. Leland among its writers, and Henry L. Stephens, E. F. Mullen (illustrator of "Artemus Ward: His Book"), J. H. Goater, W. Fiske, H. Helmick, Ben Day (whose work was reproduced in "graphotype"), and Carleton as its principal artists. Stephens did the cartoons (with the exception of a few, e.g., one by the painter R. Wylie), a task for which he was equipped in a measure. His drawing, despite evident mannerisms, had grace and easy flow of line, but it lacked the vigor of expression and of characterization necessary in the make-up of a really successful cartoonist. "Vanity Fair" held from 1859 on until 1863. Possibly the reason for its failure was that the public had no stomach in those days for graceful fooling and literary humor. It was a time for vigorous blows in the field, on the rostrum, in the editorial column, from the caricaturist's pencil. There were a few references to incompetent officers advanced by political pull, or to dishonest contractors, as in the small cut by Elihu Vedder depicting some soldiers who find their blankets more suited to use

as fishing nets than for their legitimate purpose. Or the pictorial comparison, *Heroes of the war* (penniless, maimed veterans) and *He rose by the war* (a fattened contractor). But there is not much that strikes you as a blow from the shoulder, a bull's-eye scored. When the cartoons do not show the distinctly anti-administration feeling that characterized not a little of the comic art of the day, they are apt often to give a lukewarm impression. It is not so much the telling force of satire that is felt as the mildly humorous comment of an amused spectator. About the same characterization will describe the cartoons in "Punchinello" (April, 1870-December, 1871), also by Stephens. We meet other familiar names under the cuts in this journal: A. Hoppin, J. H. Howard, F. Bellew, W. Fiske, Sheppard; and some new ones: F. T. Merrill (later known as an illustrator), George B. Bowlend, F. S. Cozzens and J. A. Mitchell, by whom there is one cut, in no wise foreshadowing his subsequent grace of style.

It was with the advent of Thomas Nast, the Bavarian who caught the spirit of the time, that the sledge-hammer force of pictorial satire exerted in a just cause was felt in all its potency. In 1862, amid the clamor for "peace at any price," Nast, who had been doing illustrating successively for "Leslie's," the "New York Illustrated News" and "Harper's," drew for the last journal a double-page emblematic picture entitled *Peace*. It showed Columbia weeping at a Union soldier's grave, while the dead one's companion, stripped of arms, is shaking hands with a Southern soldier armed to the teeth

and with one foot on the grave. "That picture made his reputation," said "Petroleum V. Nasby" (David R. Locke, whose "Struggles of P. V. Nasby," 1872, was illustrated by Nast), in an interview (1871) quoted by Frederic Hudson in his "Journalism in the United States," and added: "It was circulated by the million as a campaign document." Nast had done occasional small "comics," but in his large drawings he continued in this emblematic vein, often surrounding his central composition with a number of smaller ones, and appealing now to patriotism and human justice, as in *War in the Border States* and *Southern Chivalry,* and again simply to the sentiments of domestic affection, as in *Christmas Eve.* But with the campaign of 1868 he entered definitely into political caricature. His strong defence of the Union cause, his arraignment of the Canal Ring in New York State and his castigation of the Tweed Ring in New York City were accomplished with fierce and fearless earnestness in a series of cartoons that form imperishable pages in the annals of caricature. In the case of the anti-Greeley compositions in the presidential campaign of 1872, one's admiration of Nast's bitter, unrelenting ingenuity in probing and laying bare every little weakness is tempered by sympathy for the chief object of his attacks, the distinguished journalist who suffered so under his defeat, and by respect for men such as Sumner, Curtis, Schurz and the principles they stood for. Nast's energy never failed him, and he had a remarkable power of emphasizing the salient characteristics of a face. In time his strength waned, and his manner dropped into a multi-

tudinous display of labels all over the drawing, once lampooned in "Puck." It is, however, Nast of his best period whom we remember with satisfaction and with warm appreciation of his great service to the public. The story of his life has been well and sympathetically told by Albert Bigelow Paine (1904). His biographer traces to him the introduction of various symbolical devices dear to the caricaturist,—the square paper cap of labor, the full dinner pail, the Tammany tiger, and the "inflation" rag baby of 1875.

Nast's best work was done for "Harper's Weekly," and that journal's cartoon feature was adopted also by "Leslie's," which early in the seventies brought over Matt Morgan as a rival to Nast. Morgan had been connected with "Fun," in London, a number of his contributions to that journal being republished in a volume of "American War Cartoons" (1879). He had also drawn some startlingly bold cartoons for the London "Tomahawk," but these attacks on the Queen and the Prince of Wales were found too caustic, and the journal, begun in 1867, soon went out of existence. Morgan did not make his mark in this country as a political caricaturist, however,—although his artistic influence was felt in the periodicals with which he was connected,—but in the domains of the poster and of scene-painting. Keppler also cartooned for "Leslie's" before he started his New York "Puck." The "Daily Graphic" had Th. Wust (1874-5), Charles S. Reinhart (1876), Grant Hamilton (1883), A. B. Frost, E. W. Kemble and Fernando Miranda as cartoonists. And Mirall drew very

mild and gentlemanly specimens of what the French call *portraits-chargés* for "The Hour" in the eighties,—portraits of noted individuals, with a slight admixture of witty or satirical allusion. It was a sort of thing often well done in "Vanity Fair," of London, and by Bellew in the "Fifth Avenue Journal," of New York, and seen here notably in *Puckographs,* appearing in "Puck" and drawn usually by Keppler and occasionally by J. A. Wales and F. Graetz.

What may be called social caricature, as distinct from political, continued mainly in cuts on the last pages of weekly and monthly publications. There were the little "comics" in the "bric-à-brac" section of "Scribner's," in the late seventies, drawn by Livingston Hopkins (who wrote and illustrated a comic history of the United States and subsequently went to Australia to cartoon for the Sydney "Bulletin,"—see "Review of Reviews," January, 1893), F. B. Opper, F. S. Church, E. A. Abbey, Mullen, Addie Ledyard, M. A. Woolf, Bellew and Howard Pyle. Elsewhere, too, appeared those little tail-end "comics" which have long been a feature in many of our illustrated magazines. So the "Book of cheerful Cats," by J. G. Francis (1892), was made up of contributions to "St. Nicholas" and other publications.

While Nast was cartooning "Harper's Weekly" into a political force, attempts to establish journals entirely devoted to the comic art still went on. Frederic Hudson, in his "Journalism in the United States" (New York, 1873), has a chapter devoted to this phase of our

periodical press. He stated his belief that the American public did not want its humor in weekly doses, but preferred it in the morning paper, with its breakfast coffee. Recounting the different efforts to found a comic paper, he concluded: " and *Puck,* of St. Louis, how is he? "

This same " Puck " was founded by Joseph Keppler (1838-94), who, coming from Vienna, where he had drawn for " Der Floh " and " Kikeriki," had first tried his fortunes as an actor in St. Louis, and had then started " Die Vehme " (1870) and after its demise " Puck " (1871). On the failure of " Puck " he came in 1873 to New York City, where he found employment as a cartoonist on " Frank Leslie's Weekly." In 1876 he became associated with Schwarzmann in the establishment of " Puck," a German weekly, which half a year later began to appear also in an English edition. Previous ventures in the field of humorous journalism had usually been modeled on the pattern of " Punch," at least as far as appearance was concerned. There was a full-page cartoon on the two middle pages, and in some of the publications a half-page drawing on the front or title-page of each number. The drawings were invariably reproduced by wood-engraving, excepting toward the end of the Civil War, when there was an occasional cut in " Graphotype," or perhaps some other chemical process. These conventions were disregarded in " Puck," which offered three cartoons in each number, and with cartoons produced by lithography, was soon able to add the effect of color. At first the cartoons were printed in black-and-white; then two tints—added from wood blocks—were used, one

at the top, the other at the bottom, both merging in the center. Further effect was gained by lightening by means of coarse white lines in the tints. Finally, Keppler's predilection for color found fuller satisfaction in the completer chromatic glory of hues and tints lithographically produced. It was uphill work at first; Keppler drew all three cartoons himself, like Mark Twain, "without outside help," as well as some of the smaller illustrations and even occasional advertisements. But success came, and "Puck" gradually drew to itself the best talent in the land, and levied tribute also on its chief artist's fatherland, Austria. Karl Edler von Stur and F. Graetz were successively imported from Vienna (Graetz's views on America, expressed with an incisive pen-stroke, were peculiarly interesting). Frederick Burr Opper, some of whose comics had appeared in "Scribner's Magazine," developed remarkably while with "Puck." T. Bernard Gillam, an Englishman by birth, who had cartooned for the "Graphic" and "Harper's Weekly," had in his drawing a severity of manner reminiscent of Tenniel. Eugene Zimmerman showed a tendency to grotesquery apparently suppressed somewhat. James A. Wales, one of the few caricaturists of American birth in those days, could hit off a portrait with a sure touch. Dalrymple never did better work than under the guidance of Keppler,—"he is a born caricaturist," said the latter once to me. And there were Ehrhardt, a pen-artist of precise finish, and Syd B. Griffin, whose humor had an almost boyishly rollicking, irresponsible air. Charles J. Taylor was essentially an illustrator, good in his satires on so-

"THAT'S WHAT'S THE MATTER."
Boss TWEED. "As long as I count the Votes, what are you going to do about it? say?"

One of the Anti-Tweed Cartoons in "Harper's Weekly," by Thomas Nast

Courtesy of "Puck"

Cartoon, "Puck," April 28, 1886, by Joseph Keppler

ciety life in its female aspect; he illustrated Philip G. Welch's "Tailor-made girl" dialogues, "In the Four Hundred and out," and various works by H. C. Bunner and others. In recent years this journal has enlisted also the services of Joseph Keppler the younger, L. M. Glackens, Carl Hassmann, Albert Levering, Arthur Young (illustrator of "Hell up to Date," and whose cartoons evidence serious convictions on social conditions), Gordon H. Grant, Will Crawford, Frank Nankivell, representing as many different styles and almost as many specialties.

During the early years of "Puck," when Keppler not only dominated the art department but did nearly all of the work, there was a noticeably foreign tone in his cartoons, a spirit, with a somewhat Gallic freedom of expression, born of his Viennese origin. The somewhat audacious conception, *Forbidding the Banns,* is not very likely to be echoed to-day. In that picture, Garfield (in female garb) is about to be wedded to Uncle Sam, the officiating clergyman having a ballot-box for a head, and Schurz and Reid standing by as bridesmaids; W. H. Barnum, bearing a baby labeled "Credit Mobilier," rushes in, vigorously protesting against the continuation of the ceremony. "But it was such a little one" is the coy remark of the blushing bride. "A Selection of Cartoons from Puck by Joseph Keppler; with text and introduction by H. C. Bunner" (1893), issued in a limited edition, gives a bird's-eye view of the range of Keppler's talent. But the best review of his activity will be found in a bound set of the journal which he founded and made into a power.

Keppler developed a partiality for large compositions with many figures; he was a sort of Makart in comic art. His son, who has taken his place on "Puck," while not entirely possessing the father's easy swing of flowing line, has a remarkable faculty of scoring telling hits with a minimum of figures. One could not better tell the story of the presidential campaign of 1908 than he did with three figures, Roosevelt as John Alden and the Republican Party as Priscilla, Taft as Standish hovering in the rear. The mature coyness of the maid, the smile of self-satisfaction on the face of the vicarious suitor, are unmistakable. The title is, of course: *Why don't you speak for yourself?* Keppler never allows side issues or details to becloud the main idea in his cartoons; it is this singleness of purpose which makes them so emphatically effective.

In 1887 "Judge" was founded, to counteract the Democratic influence of "Puck," I fancy. It received its first impulse toward more important rank through the advent of Wales from "Puck," that artist being followed subsequently by Gillam and Zimmerman, which latter artist here developed to the full his predilection for exaggeration. Grant E. Hamilton grew into a manner of noteworthy ease and freshness, shown also in pen-drawings of easy-flowing stroke done for the "New York Herald." Frank Beard, J. H. Smith (cowboy scenes), F. Victor Gillam (who, until the death of his brother, on whose style his own was modeled, used the signature *F. Victor*), Penrhyn Stanlaws (i.e., P. S. Adamson), Flohri, James Montgomery Flagg are among the other artists

whose work appeared in this weekly. "*Puck* and *Judge*," say A. B. Maurice and F. T. Cooper, in their volume on nineteenth century caricature, "led to a distinct advance in political caricature in this country."

The third in the trio of comic weeklies, with the usual three cartoons in colors, which succeeded in maintaining a foothold for a number of years, was the "Wasp," of San Francisco, which subsequently became a general illustrated weekly. There were other attempts to establish similar publications, but they usually did not hold out long beyond the political campaign which called them into being. The Garfield-Hancock struggle of 1880 evolved "Chic," with chief cartoonist in the person of C. Kendrick, better known as an illustrator of juveniles with colored pictures. Four years later "Judge's" efforts in behalf of Blaine were seconded by "Jingo," which died the usual early death. During that campaign of 1884 the strongest forces in caricature were arrayed on the other side. "Puck" offered a remarkable instance of sustained effort in its series of "plumed knight" and "tattooed man" conceits, mainly by Keppler and Gillam. The "tattooed" idea had appeared once before in "Puck," in an early issue of the German edition (1876), in which Columbia appears anything but a "gem," her body covered with the record of all sorts of rings and frauds and political misdeeds. And now the idea, utilized in a political dime museum drawn by Gillam, in which Blaine appeared among the "freaks" as a tattooed man, was exploited with an ingeniously varied insistence that was terrible in its effectiveness. Some of the cartoons

were on a particularly high plane; so Gillam's *Phryne before the Chicago Tribunal* (Phryne being the tattooed man unveiled by Whitelaw Reid), a distinct appeal to the well educated. The attacks on Cleveland were equally bitter, and in the two succeeding campaigns his figure, in grossly caricatured obesity, was incessantly held up to ridicule. Free-trade friendliness to England, a nineteen collar and a number six hat, hypocrisy and self-love were some of the sins with which he was charged. The last-named attribute formed the theme of a drawing by Gillam in which Cleveland's figure, inclined in a bow, forms the contours of the United States on the map.

In succeeding campaigns, Bryan came in for his share of attacks. Among the many cartoons directed against him there was one, unusually free in conception, by Hamilton, representing him as the "Angel of Darkness" showing the American voter possibilities of power and wealth, as seen from a high mountain. *The Temptation* is its obvious title.

Shortly before the Spanish war, a cartoon by Victor Gillam, in which a diminutive Spaniard, looking into the mouth of an enormous American cannon, is admonished by Uncle Sam: *Be careful, it's loaded,* explained the state of affairs with expressive simplicity. The Spanish caricatures issued during the war, usually variations on the theme of the "American hog," may seem to us stupid enough, but in such a production as Hamilton's *The Spanish Brute adds Mutilation to Murder* there is an appeal to national prejudice which is not pleasant to look upon. Even this war is already to an extent ancient his-

tory, which may be objectively studied, in its caricature aspect, in the volume "Cartoons of the War of 1898 with Spain, from leading foreign and American papers" (1899).

While "Puck" and "Judge" were cartooning their way through the devious paths of politics, in the color-full blaze of chromo-lithography, there was established in 1883 a weekly devoted more particularly to social caricature, and going back to black and white, although a more rapid process was used, of course, instead of wood-engraving. That was "Life." It is an interesting group of artists who have at one time or another been in the service of this lively publication. Some of them were well characterized by John Ames Mitchell, editor of the journal, in his article on "Contemporary American caricature" in "Scribner's" for December, 1889. He speaks there of the "intellectual quality" of the delightful and droll conceits of F. G. Attwood (of whose drawings the Boston Museum of Fine Arts held an exhibition in 1901), of C. D. Gibson's "ability to draw a lady," a not too common faculty, of the "lively fancy, keen wit" of Oliver Herford. Further variations of outlook on the humorous side of our fellow-man were offered in the earlier volumes of "Life" by W. A. Rogers, W. H. Hyde, Albert Sterner, S. W. Van Schaick, C. Gray Parker, Palmer Cox, C. Kendrick, H. W. McVickar (illustrator of "Daisy Miller"), Alfred Gillam, E. W. Kemble ("Thompson Street Poker Club" and other phases of "Blackville" life, presented with much understanding of negro character, unexaggerated), and John

Ames Mitchell ("The Summer School of Philosophy at Mt. Desert," 1881, and "The Romance of the Moon," 1886). More recently there have been connected with it the painstaking and thoughtful Charles Broughton; T. S. Sullivant; Otho Cushing ("The Teddyssey," 1907), who outlines commanding and divinely proportioned Junos, Venuses, Apollos, Jupiters and Dianas, both in their classic garb and in modern dress; James Montgomery Flagg, whose humor has a broad and spontaneous fling; and W. H. Walker, effective in the field of political satire.

Chip, as F. P. W. Bellew, son of Frank Henry Temple Bellew, signed himself, furnished many of his amusing little pictures to "Life" (a number of them were republished in a volume of "Chip's Dogs," 1895), and Mitchell paid pribute to his "limitless invention." Ideas are very necessary to the caricaturist. The elder Bellew, who in 1866 issued a book on the "Art of Amusing," had an inexhaustible fund of them, which never appeared to run short throughout his long career. His son was indeed a "chip of the old block" in that respect. F. M. Howarth was likewise well provided with this inventiveness, which he exploited in series of pictures, with large-headed, stare-eyed figures, which enjoyed quite a vogue at one time. In Bisbee and the bright and prolific James S. Goodwin (died 1890) this faculty mainly served as a basis for drawings by others, their own artistic talent being a negligible asset. "Idea mongers" some one has called these useful members of the craft.

"Puck," "Judge" and "Life" are in the field to-day,

but the curious digger after facts may find yet more tombstones to note in the cemetery of comic journalism's blasted hopes. "Sam, the Scaramouch" was begun in Cincinnati in 1885; "The Verdict" issued three volumes in 1898-1900;—but it would be an idle task to continue the list here.

It is a noteworthy fact that the power of the cartoon has been invoked even by religious journalism in the case of the "War Cry," and by the "Ram's Horn" (Chicago) in its war on drink. The artist for the latter publication was Frank Beard, who came prominently before the public in his "Chalk Talks," and who wrote of the "Art of Caricature" in the "Chautauquan" of February, 1887.

Caricature of the past has its function also in preserving records of manners and customs, a fact considered in some detail in the present writer's articles on "Social History of the United States in Caricature" ("Critic," 1905). Figures that have disappeared from our streets, —the old apple woman, the mutton-pie man,—vagaries of fashion that had their little day, habits, such as whittling, that have lost their quality as national characteristics, these and other things were so much a matter of course in their day that the ordinary pictorial press did not note them, but the eye and pencil of the comic artist held them incidentally to illustrate the point of some joke, or directly ridiculed them. Much of our social caricature, for a long while, was taken up with the doings of the more or less "upper ten." Not a little of the resultant work no doubt deserved the late Alfred Trumble's

stricture that it consisted of "pretty drawings that mean nothing to fit text that means less."

But some of our best "comic artists" have given us mainly views of a life of simpler manners, homespun virtues and plain clothes.

Frost's healthy and delightful humor, first shown in a tendency to grotesquery (as in "Stuff and Nonsense"), has become mellowed with years into an appreciative contemplation of the amiable weaknesses of his fellow-man. His later drawings of our rural compatriots and of our sporting brethren are friendly presentations of human traits at which we smile while sympathizing with them. One of his colleagues has well said that "one of the greatest charms of Mr. Frost's work is the enjoyment the artist evidently takes in it himself."

E. W. Kemble has cartooned for Leslie's and Harper's weeklies, but has always been best known as a delineator of negro life, a faculty which he employed also in the illustration of "Uncle Tom's Cabin." W. L. Sheppard, illustrator of John Esten Cooke and W. D. Howells, also furnished many humorous drawings of the black man, done with a sympathetic truthfulness to nature born perhaps of the artist's Southern origin. In that field he was emulated for a while by Peter Newell, who has since become well known through his "Topsys and Turveys," 1893, "The hole Book" and similar grotesque conceptions, and by his illustrated quatrains of the "wild flower" type, all done with a quaintness of drawing and humor peculiarly his own. To those who drew the negro without recourse to caricature

must be added also an earlier artist, Sol Eytinge, who gave us many kindly and genial pictures of the black man in his happy moods. Thomas Worth, on the other hand, in the gaudily colored Currier & Ives lithographs which not so long ago confronted one in many shop windows, chronicled the doings of "Blackville" in a revelry of distorted racial characteristics. He was identified for a while with "Texas Siftings" and furnished illustrations for the writings of "Bricktop." To those who remember these illustrations or the earlier ones for Orpheus C. Kerr's "Smoked Glass" (1868) or R. B. Roosevelt's "Five Acres too much" it may come as a surprise to learn that he furnished designs also for the "Old Curiosity Shop" (1872)!

Michael Angelo Woolf, originally a wood-engraver, never caricatured, but sketched what Leech called the "Children of the Mobility," ragged youngsters from the slums and the squatters' shanties of New York (once a picturesque subject for caricaturists), sometimes in parody of adult life, and not infrequently in pathetic appeals on behalf of the poor and unfortunate. A number of his drawings were collected as "Sketches of lowly Life in a great City" (1899). His "How it happened," shown at the National Academy in 1884, indicated an ambition to shine as a painter, and was accepted by the public as a remarkable bit of characterization of tenement house life.

The many names mentioned show that not a few of our illustrators were enlisted in the service of the comic art early in their career; Abbey, Reinhart, Church, Frost

may be cited as conspicuous examples. So, too, some turned to it after they had become known as illustrators: Bush, Rogers. The last two, identified with newspaper work, bring us to an interesting phase of the subject.

In our day the cartoon has become a prominent feature of the daily press, which has enlisted the services of some very clever artists. The thing began, in fact, very soon after Gribayédoff did his series of humorous portraits in the "World" (New York), in 1884. From that time on, the "World" had among its cartoonists Walter H. McDougall (who also wrote and illustrated "The Hidden City" and "McD.'s unauthorized history of Chris. Columbus"), D. McCarthy, Charles G. Bush and his successor Charles R. Macauley; the New York "Herald" Grant Hamilton, Charles G. Bush, Ch. Nelan ("Cartoons of our War with Spain," 1898), and W. A. Rogers ("Hits at Politics," 1899); the "Evening Telegram" (New York) C. de Grimm during 1884-87 (he was *von* Grimm before he left Austria for France) and Charles G. Bush; the New York "Recorder" Thomas Nast; the New York "Press" Leon Barritt.

Bush, well characterized by J. A. Mitchell as "a man of positive convictions," for some years held a peculiar position as the dean of American cartoonists. His work had what the Germans call "moral seriousness," bore the stamp of sincere purpose, of a consistently high tone. These qualities, and the personality behind them, were appreciatively emphasized in "World's Work," 1901, and by S. H. Horgan in "Inland Printer," October, 1907.

Homer C. Davenport cartooned for the New York "Journal" and "Evening Mail"; he originated the Mark Hanna $-mark suit of clothes and the giant figure of the trusts. Frederick Burr Opper has drawn for the "New York Journal" the "Willie and his Papa" (1891), "Alphabet of Joyous Trusts" (1902) and "John, Jonathan and Mr. Opper" (1903) series. Opper's newspaper work is quite different from that of his earlier days, the days of "Puck's Opper Book" (1888). In a review of "This funny World as Puck sees it" (1890) the present writer said: "Mr. Opper's humor draws its happiest inspiration from the life of the middle and laboring classes, and in his sphere he is quite inimitable. As a rule, the element of caricature enters into his drawings with just enough force to accentuate the point of the joke he is illustrating." To-day the idea is apparently everything to him; drawing is subordinated into an almost elementary simplicity.

Henry Mayer is with the "New York Times," and Boardman Robinson with the "New York Tribune." Of the last-named, the "New York Evening Post" said (Dec. 30, 1911): "in draughtsman's tact and in power of summary characterization he should find a place among those who have achieved most honor in this work." Rollin Kirby's work in the "New York Evening Mail" has some similarity to the vigorous style of Robinson.

In fact, the last three men named execute their drawings with an artistic feeling which is rather rare among newspaper cartoonists, many of whom work in a manner

that is somewhat elementary, in some cases almost childishly so. Homespun humor and simple literalness in execution are typical of a class of this newspaper work.

The list is quite long of those who have commented on public affairs with drollery, with humor, even with wit, but less often with satire. On the whole, the good-humored, a bit clownish spirit predominates; the "sly dig" is administered, rather than the sting of the lash. John T. McCutcheon of the "Chicago Tribune" depicts "the sunny side," as some one has put it. The progressive expression on his head of C. W. Fairbanks in the series "Problems of the Vice-Presidency" is an amusing example of his humor which has a flavor both spontaneous and native. Various manners and methods may be found in the work of Charles L. Bartholomew ("Bart") of the "Minneapolis Journal"; John DeMar, "Philadelphia Record"; J. H. Donahey, "Cleveland Plain Dealer"; Fred Morgan, "Philadelphia Inquirer"; Robert Carter and T. S. Sullivant, in "New York American"; Fred Richardson, "Chicago Daily News"; Clifford K. Berryman, "Washington Star," and William H. Walker, "New York Evening Post."

One result of this wide activity is the very frequent delineation of certain individuals, so that it becomes possible to gather such an overflowing collection of material as we find it in Albert Shaw's "Cartoon History of Roosevelt's Career" (1910).

"The American cartoon, despite the undeniable amount of trash which its name has covered, is one of

the most interesting manifestations of our art. There is less self-consciousness about it than many other outlets for artistic energy to-day can show. It has less pose, a characteristic honesty that is above question. It finds itself in that situation in which, perhaps, the best art of all fruitful periods is found, since it is art in service to an actual daily need of utterance and expression." So said a writer in the "New York Evening Post" of December 30, 1911. There is much truth in this, if we remember that it was written in the face of the work of half a dozen artists selected for exhibition at the City Club, New York.

"The modern cartoon is essentially journalistic," to quote Maurice and Cooper again, "both in spirit and execution." It is bound to be so, from the conditions of production; to think out and execute a cartoon a day is an undertaking that calls for quick work. Quick production is the rule; as Bartholomew once said to a writer for "The World To-day" (February, 1904), "The American cartoonist must anticipate the news." The widespread use of caricature by papers, in which the daily artistic comments on passing events are each in turn crowded out by the following one, must of necessity weaken its corrective force. It is only the work of a few that stands out, or the occasional "hit"; or the persistent insistence of a series of consecutive poundings on the same issue, as during a political campaign. There is, too, the danger referred to by the late C. G. Bush, in the words: "In my opinion, the objectionable features of some cartoons published to-day are largely due to the

attempt to make the cartoonist a mere tool in the hands of the editor or the proprietor of the paper."

A number of newspaper cartoons were reproduced by "Cartoons" while it lasted (1900); the same journal published also portraits and biographical sketches of C. K. Berryman, C. R. Macauley, Maurice Ketten, John De Mar, and F. Fox of the "Louisville Times." The "American Monthly Review of Reviews" and other publications have also at various times republished cartoons on questions of general interest, thus affording opportunity for comparative study of opinions and of the art through which they were expressed.

But it is not only the domain of political caricature that the daily paper has entered. It has come to cater extensively to humanity's willingness to laugh. Small doses of illustrated humor in daily issues, and more voluminous provision in special "comic" sections of those masses of printed sheets which overpower us on Sundays, offer a sort of continuous comic performance, where we formerly had it concentrated in an exclusively comic paper once a week. We are indeed carrying out Hudson's idea, cited before, that "no one can wait a week for a laugh; it must come in daily with our coffee," and we get it with our evening tea as well.

There has been, and is, much simple, clean, healthy humor, though not of a particularly high type, in these "comics." But in this field of non-political caricature the influence of the daily paper does not appear to have been invariably good. There is much childishness in conception and execution, and, what is worse, bad taste.

The eternal ebullition of the all-dominating "kid," to the discomfiture of its elders, is not exactly a pleasing subject for the gaudy "Supplement" for which our children can hardly wait on Sunday.

Wallace Irwin, in the "New York Times" of Oct. 22, 1911, characterized the colored comic supplements as "decidedly cockney, both in origin and method," and continued: "They are merely an American version of 'Alley Sloper's Half Holiday,' showing the same tendency to make Peck's Bad Boy the hero, to celebrate the dill pickle as the classic model of wit, to weave the pun-draped Daffydil, and to indicate Comedy as a gentleman with green whiskers lying prone at the foot of a stairway with a galaxy of stars swimming round his fractured skull." It is no spirit of preciosity, of ultra-refinement, that prompts this attitude, but the exercise of ordinary good taste. Public taste has become somewhat vitiated by long continuance of "evil associations." The antics of the "slap-stick" element in comic art have dulled our powers of resistance and we look, at the very least, indulgently on the most vulgar vaudeville contortions in our daily and weekly charges of pictorial humor. The "good" work is even spreading to other lands in which our efforts are emulated in dull imitation of our most freakish efforts. Even Japan, land of the chrysanthemum and the color-print, synonym for sensitive exemplification of art principles, is being hooliganized in its comic press. The news of the voluntary abandonment of the comic supplement by a Boston paper, some years ago, came like a ray of hope. And all of this may be

said without reference to any ethical viewpoint, in strict adherence to the domain of art, with which the present book is concerned.

There has been an enormous increase in comic artists. Schools, even correspondence schools, for the art exist, and the demand, on the part of young men, for books in our public libraries on the art of cartooning, is sufficiently large. As if the true inwardness of pictorial satire could be taught by rote! But perhaps the kind which evidently pays so well as to have attracted special attention, can be?

CHAPTER XIV

THE BOOK-PLATE

While the activity of a nation in the making did not in colonial days leave time for a full development of taste for art, yet the spread of culture and the formation of collections of books brought about the use of the book-plate early in the eighteenth century. In fact, Charles Dexter Allen, in his "American Book-Plates" (New York, 1894; reprinted 1905), lists the book-plate of Johannes Williams, 1679. But this was merely a printed label, the simplest indication of ownership apart from the name written by hand. The addition of an ornamental border, or an apt quotation was quite natural, and thence grew decorative or pictorial embellishment. And so, then, our early engravers on silver and other metals, entering the field of line-engraving on copper, were called upon to produce ex-libris. Through the eighteenth century the following were more or less so employed: F. Dewing, M. J. Bruls, Henry Dawkins, Nathaniel Hurd, Thomas Johnston, James Turner, Amos Doolittle, J. M. Furnass, E. Ruggles, Jr., Sparrow, Paul Revere, Elisha Gallaudet, Joseph Callender, Richard Brunton ("An early Connecticut Engraver and his Work," by Albert C. Bates, Hartford, 1906), Abraham Godwin, A. Billings (an "elaborately designed but poorly engraved" book-plate of Richard Varick, 1801),

Abernethie (Charleston, 1785), Bull, James Smither, J. H. Seymour, Francis Shallus, James Akin, Nathaniel Dearborn, William Hamlin, James Trenchard, S. Harris, S. Hill, P. and P. R. Maverick (the latter " a most prolific worker in the ' Ribbon and Wreath,' " writes C. D. Allen), Anderson, James Akin, Rollinson, Vallance, Allardice, Thackara, Kearny and not a few others. Some of these lived well into the next century, in the first half of which Annin & Smith and C. G. Childs also executed such signs of bibliothecal proprietorship, as did Dr. John Syng Dorsey.

There was generally no particular originality in this work. Not only were English models followed, but some of the engravers were content to use the same design, with slight variation, for a number of plates. Hurd, for example, based the E. A. Holyoke, Thos. Dering (1749: the first plate by an American engraver that is both signed and dated), Theodore Atkinson, Wentworth, Robert Hale and other plates on the same design, in which figured, at the base of the escutcheon, a shell from which flowed water. Callender also repeated himself, and P. R. Maverick. So these early men gave Chippendale, Jacobean and Ribbon and Wreath plates, in the approved manner, according to their lights, and with a certain simple dignity despite their limitations of craftsmanship.

Of these early armorial plates, George Washington's is naturally of paramount interest. It was printed from after the Civil War, and has been counterfeited, the spurious copy being utilized at a sale in Washington in

the sixties to give a fictitious value to the books to be auctioned off. Like William Penn's, it was presumably engraved in England. Allen, indeed, notes that in the Southern colonies, many men of cultivated tastes and aristocratic antecedents had their plates engraved in England, while in the North native talent was generally engaged. John A. Gade, in "Book-plates—old and new" (New York, 1898), states that Thomas Prince's (1704) was the earliest one actually executed in America.

These early book-plates were mainly armorial, and usually engraved in line on copper, although occasionally a woodcut was used. But the pictorial element also began to appear, at least to the extent of rows or piles of books, and the allegorical as well. Patriotism found vent in the employment of the American flag or the eagle, and T. C. Sparrow, in each of his few ex-libris engraved on wood, introduced the thirteen stars of the new nation.

When our eighteenth century engravers broadened out from the scrollwork and scallops and conventional leaf designs (for which their practice as silversmiths had given them a certain fluency), the result is not always exactly happy. Note, for example, the shepherd, shepherdess and lamb in Dawkins's plate for Benjamin Kissam, all three of a like woodenness. But it is difficult to keep purely artistic considerations unmixed with feelings of sympathy for the efforts of these early designers or of interest in the owners of the plates and in the spirit of time and place.

Neither the pictorial nor the allegorical seem to have

been particularly numerous, and they were apparently more affected by associations than by individuals. One recalls the plate of the Society for Propagating the Gospel in Foreign Parts (1704), representing the savage Americans rushing to the shore to meet an incoming ship in which stands a missionary holding out a book. Later came the plates for Harvard College; Linonian Library, Yale College (1804) and Mechanics' Library, New Haven (two funny little cupids at an anvil, with the motto "improve the moment"), both by Doolittle; Massachusetts Medical Society (Æsculapius healing a wounded stag, reproduced by Stauffer), Hasty Pudding Library (showing pot of pudding), American Academy of Arts and Sciences, all three by Callender; Harvard Porcellian Club (with a porker prominent); Monthly Library of Farmington, 1795 (a crude and queer affair, *M. Bull's and T. Lee's sculp.*); New York Society Library; Columbia College Library, Apprentices' Library, Typographical Society of New York, all three by Anderson; and New York State Agricultural Society (Ceres, with a sheaf of wheat). In such plates, owls, Minerva, Diana, Clio, lamps of knowledge, age guiding youth to the temple of learning, temples of honor, and similar devices add the force of their pictorial lesson. For the New York Society Library a conception representing an Indian reverently receiving a volume from the hands of Minerva, was twice engraved by P. R. Maverick, another design having previously been cut by Elisha Gallaudet. Ann P. Shallus's Circulating Library, Philadelphia, is symbolized in the engraving by Francis Shallus in the form of a

Book Plate of George Washington

female with a cornucopia. And for an orphan asylum L. Simond designed, and Leney engraved, a picture of Christ blessing children.

Among the private individuals who used similar emblematic ideas in their book-plates were Bloomfield McIlvaine (J. H. Seymour, engraver, from a design by J. J. Barralet); Williams and Samuel Walker (both musical instruments) and Henry Andrews (Minerva and owl), the first and last by S. Harris; Samuel Parker (Clio handing a book to a kneeling youth); J. B. Swett and John Green, Jr. (both reminiscent of the dissecting room); McMurtrie (book-pile and serpent of Æsculapius, *Fairman del., Kearny sc.*); and James Parker, an old railway conductor, who launched into the pictorial with an elaborate picture of the first railway train. P. R. Maverick depicted a young man reading, in his plate for Jacob Brown; a young woman similarly employed figures in that of the Farmington Village Library. Books, ink-pots and quills are of obvious applicability. The pile or row of books was occasionally used, by Doolittle and James Akin for instance; the library interior served for Benjamin Ogle Tayloe's plate. The American flag, cannon balls, an anchor and a ship characterize the activities of Lieut. E. Trenchard, and a soaring eagle figures in the plates of Brigham (engraved by writing-master Gershom Cobb), John Preston Mann, Abraham Bancker (by Maverick) and others; in W. L. Stone's (by R. Rawdon) the eagle is struggling with a serpent. And in Edward Livingston's ex-libris, by Maverick, the armorial design is supplemented by a dog barking at a squirrel.

The plates of these early days, through the first quarter of the nineteenth century, bring before us a long list of names noted in various walks of life. Presidents, patriots of the Revolution, orators, signers of the Declaration of Independence, loyalists, merchants, preachers, authors, lawyers, physicians, military officers, honorable bearers of honorable old family names, bound together in this pictorial representation by love and respect for books. It is a wide field of human activity that rises through memory before the imagination at sight of such a collection of book-plates.

In earlier days, the book-plate, to a large extent, as we have seen, reflected the importance of heraldry in all the pomp of armorial bearings, and was, therefore, an emblem of family dignity rather than an expression of personal tastes. To-day the pictorial plate predominates, directly or symbolically illustrating a particular individuality. That, of course, does not exclude the opportunity for an unobtrusive introduction of heraldic devices. But possibilities for a less hampered effort on the part of the artist are immeasurably increased. The ex-libris in its modern manifestations is based particularly and primarily on the individuality of the person for whom it was made. It is the result of a natural impulse to indicate ownership in a book by more than a simple signature or a printed or typewritten label, by some device that shall be distinctive, that shall give some indication of the owner's character and tastes. In fact, this impulse, and the pleasure in its artistic expression, have led some people to have more than one book-plate,—Henry

Blackwell, for instance, C. H. Hart, Walter Conway Prescott, T. Henry Foster, W. G. Bowdoin, Dorothy Furman, E. P. B. Phillips, Frank R. Fraprie and George L. Parmele.

In these little art products, then, not only the skill and individual attitude of the artist are expressed; the personality and ideas of the one who orders the plate have a paramount influence on the result, and are, in fact, as one book-plate designer has well said, the keynote of the design. That does not alter the fact that ultimately the artist's personality may be the dominating one, and form the main reason why particular plates are sought after by the collector. The factors in the composition of the book-plate are, obviously, the relative mental attitudes of owner and artist, and the sympathy of each for the other's standpoint. It is this combination of elements which makes the charm of the book-plate.

Mottoes, allegorical allusions, the portrait of the owner (alone and self-dependent or seated in his library), pictures of favorite places, the paraphernalia of sports or other hobbies, rows of books labeled with the names of preferred authors, allusions to personal achievement, wit good and poor, the downright pun,—such elements, with decorative setting, form material for ex-libris. There is plenty of opportunity for the display of poor taste. An apparent anxiety to avoid running counter to the Scriptural admonition regarding bushel-covered lights may result in a parade of self-advertisement that weighs down the designer's freedom of expression, as the Old Man of the Sea did Sindbad the Sailor.

(Beraldi boldly asserts that "the worth of a bibliophile is in inverse ratio to the dimension of his *ex-libris.*") But if the owner may be too much in evidence, so, too, may the artist. An attempt to make a book-plate a compressed pictorial biography may prove fatuous, but it is equally unfortunate to make it a miniature mural decoration or poster, or to utilize it in the exploitation of super-advanced artistic idiotisms. Not stiffness, not even necessarily absolute seriousness, but a certain dignity is called for here; vagaries are out of order. The final purpose should always be kept in view.

Appropriateness is a prime necessity, appropriateness in conception, design and execution, the last implying a proper regard for the reproductive medium. The principles of taste which govern our judgment of any prints hold good here as well.

The book-plate may indicate the owner's taste with no distinct reference to him, as when A. A. Hopkins adopts an illustration from the "Hypnerotomachia Poliphilii" (Florence, 1499), or another a figure from Botticelli's "Spring," or Oliver Wendell Holmes the chambered nautilus. Or the allusion may be more direct, as in Francis Wilson's plate, which represents a court-jester lost amid old volumes while time goes on unheeded. Lawrence Barrett showed a mask of tragedy and an open book, Laurence Hutton's a statuette of Thackeray. The one designed for Brander Matthews by Edwin A. Abbey depicts an Indian looking at a huge Greek mask of Comedy, with the sentence *Que pensez-vous de cette comédie?* A reproduction of Daniel Maclise's sketch of Lamb

serves Frank Evans Marshall, Pan charmed shepherd and nymphs with his pipes, with *le cœur au métier,* in E. C. Stedman's device, and pen and sword were contrasted for George W. Childs. The library interior is a familiar form of indicating the love of literature, and the point is occasionally made more personal by showing the owner among his books. But the influence of literature on life may also be expressed allegorically, as in E. Irenæus Stevenson's plate (showing the serpent with the apple of knowledge) or John Herbert Corning's (by Henry Sandham): Atlas supporting the world of letters.

The love of both books and nature is indicated in a number of plates by a library interior with a window giving an outlook on fields and woods and brooks and sky: so in those of Georgia Medora Lee and Charlotte Anita Whitney. Jack London's "Call of the Wild" is personified by the head of a wolf. In Alexander Melville Bell's, designed by himself, a pair of lips, a key and an open book play their symbolical part, which is not too difficult to interpret.

There may be the reference to the owner's profession or occupation,—the bookbinders at work in E. D. French's plate for Henry Blackwell, the skull and microscope in that by J. H. Fincken for Dr. Edwin S. Potter, the engraver's tools embodied in Samuel P. Avery's plate, as they had been in John Andrew's.

Similarly the owner's hobbies or passions or favorite pastimes form a favorite theme; one has but to think, for instance, of the angling plates of Dean Sage, Heckscher, Daniel B. Fearing, Howland or Joseph W. Simp-

son (both owner and designer). Birds figure, of course, in the plate of Olive Thorne Miller, by W. E. Fisher; a hornbook indicates George A. Plimpton's specializing, as a collector, in educational publications.

A new form of the old admonition not to steal was employed by Dr. George L. Parmele, a trumpeting herald bearing a banner inscribed: *Verloren! Verloren! Ein Buch.*

In such various ways does the ex-libris give us some idea of the owner's tastes, theories, pastimes, studies, work and surroundings.

When a plate is to be made for a public or semi-public library, institutional aims are to be recorded and not personal tastes. In such a case, expression in terms of stately impressiveness rather than of sympathetic grace is called for. Without insisting on the choice, it may be said that the problem was happily solved in such plates as French's for Harvard's Hohenzollern Collection, Princeton University and the American Institute of Electrical Engineers; Spenceley's for the University of Missouri, Harvard University, Boston Public Library, Davenport Academy of Sciences and Library of the New Theater, New York City; Hopson's for the Blackstone Public Library, Branford, Conn.; S. L. Smith's for the public libraries of Boston, Lynn, Bangor and the District of Columbia, and for the Massachusetts Historical Society; and Garrett's for the Lowell City Library.

The preface to the catalogue of the exhibit of the Club of Odd Volumes (Boston, 1898) stated that it included "many uninteresting and even extremely ugly things"

gathered for the purpose of "showing how unsatisfactory the great number of book-plates used by the public libraries, the libraries of colleges and of other institutions of learning, is." In like manner, Sheldon Cheney, writing in the "Book-Plate Booklet" for February, 1909, on "The Public Library Book-Plate," speaks of the "great number of utterly wretched book-plates used in our public libraries," but notes also some satisfactory ones. These satisfactory ones are to be found not only among those which have gained from the stately formality of the line-engraving. Not a few plates for libraries, reproduced in recent years by processes based on the initial action of the camera, have shown artistic feeling joined to an appreciative understanding of the problem. In fact, they are numerous enough to make choice difficult, and it is a selection at random that results in the naming of W. E. Fisher's design for the Wadsworth Library, Geneseo, N. Y., Mrs. A. R. Wheelan's for the University of California, and George W. Edwards's for the Public Library of New London (nautical in spirit).

Among commercial undertakings one would not so readily expect to find interesting material, but there are the plates of the Alton Railway and of the New England Telephone and Telegraph Co. (by W. C. Bamburgh). Clubs, on the other hand, naturally seem to offer opportunities for the designer, and we have, indeed, such plates as those for the Authors' Club and the Grolier Club (the first one), both by George Wharton Edwards; the Century Association, New York, by James D. Smillie; University Club of Boston, by E. H. Garrett; University

Club of Washington, by Henry Sandham; Boston Browning Society, by F. T. Merrill; Chicago Woman's Club, by Claude Bragdon, and Woman's Club, Wisconsin, by J. W. Spenceley.

The ex-libris remains in its totality a "document," a phase of human activity which not only cannot be overlooked, but which repays study, and is of most varied charm. It appeals through personal, historical or literary association, it attracts as an instance of art applied, as one of the many forms in which art may be made an integral part of daily life. Specifically the artist's province, when the basic ideas have been decided on, is the design, the co-ordination of the various elements into an orderly whole. Over-elaboration, here, is as objectionable as a slighting of essential possibilities. One of the problems always is the arrangement of name and motto; a problem similar to that of the ornamental value of lettering on medals, exemplified, say, by the work of Pisanello. The medium employed—the formal line-engraving on copper, the free etching, the vigorous woodcut, or the photo-mechanical processes frequently used today—has also its distinct and important part in the result. Adjustment of medium to style we find in the best art of any kind, and so here also.

From the heraldic magnificence and stately formality of the old line-engraving period we passed to the present-day free expression of thought, or of passing mood or whim. This expression is quite often transmitted by the immediateness of the photo-mechanical processes. But it frequently finds a medium also in the older method and

in wood-engraving as well, and in this very diversity of means by which the modern viewpoint finds voice, lies a reason for a wider appreciation of this specialty in graphic art.

The best traditions of line-engraving on copper were perpetuated by Edwin Davis French, in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, with signal success. He employed formalized foliage, as did Beham and other German masters, and with a sure control of his particular decorative vein that drew endless diversity of effect from the same motive without ever striking a forced note. There is in his art a dignified beauty of decorative line, a calm nobility of expression and a sonority of utterance that give it a commanding position, a place apart, that have made him a classic in our records of the art. J. Winfred Spenceley turned to book-plate engraving on copper at about the same time as French, from whose style his own differs in having more variety in design and a somewhat freer touch. This effect was heightened by his use of the etching needle, particularly in landscape work. One has no desire nor reason to make invidious comparisons between two artists who not only were good friends, but neither of whom the lover of book-plate art would care to miss. A happy combination of adaptativeness and individuality, of dignity and a certain free, etcher-like touch in his landscapes, are the predominant characteristics in Spenceley's work. Similar notes of diversity are felt in the line-engravings of Sidney L. Smith and W. F. Hopson, who exhibit that combination of variety in treatment with dignity and restraint in expres-

sion which produces the happiest results in these marks of bibliophilic proprietorship. Hopson has exercised the mastery of the practised engraver also on the wood block, which medium W. J. Linton, A. Allen Lewis, George Wolfe Plank, Hugh M. Eaton and Rud. Ruzicka have also employed, as has William Miller, in a cut of noteworthy delicacy after a design by E. Hamilton Bell. J. H. Fincken (who uses also etching and stipple), Dr. A. J. Brown (working in the spirit of E. D. French), Frederick Spenceley and A. N. Macdonald also express themselves in the formal stateliness born of the union of burin and copper-plate. E. H. Garrett speaks, and with fluency and grace, in the freer language of the etching needle, which has served the purposes also of W. H. H. Bicknell and S. Hollyer (whose plate for Mary Anderson has been described as a "most charming bit of engraving"). And there are also the etchers who have turned aside to do a book-plate,—usually their own only, rarely another for a friend,—C. F. W. Mielatz, E. L. Warner, Dr. L. M. Yale (for Dr. A. M. Gerster), Thomas Johnson, James D. Smillie, R. F. Williams.

The combination of graver and copper-plate imposes its limits and its distinction on the work of the engravers named, which, while differing in style and in degree of freedom, bears in every case a certain stamp of reserve. For the artist who draws for the photo-mechanical process no such technical limits are set; the very facility of reproduction invites free expression and tempts those who have a tendency to go beyond proper artistic bounds. It is decidedly to the credit of our

younger designers of book-plates that the whole of their work, subjected to so many influences, and with so many opportunities for going astray, is so satisfactory. At its best, though usually pictorial, it is not overloaded, but simple and direct in intent and execution.

A number of designers have devoted themselves more or less habitually to this specialty: L. S. Ipsen, Wilbur Macey Stone (with preference for floral themes), George Wharton Edwards, Jay Chambers, William Edgar Fisher, Mrs. Albertine Randall Wheelan, George R. Halm, D. McN. Stauffer (who did half a hundred plates), Louis J. Rhead (pictorial, with decorative poster reminiscences), Sheldon Cheney, Howard Sill, E. B. Bird, Hugh M. Eaton, H. C. Brown, and The Triptych ("A few Book-Plates and other Dainty Devices," 1900, and "Book-Plates designed, engraved and printed by the Triptych," New York, 1906). Simple lines and flat surfaces, with some employment of color, are characteristics which mark much of this modern work.

In the "Book-Plate Booklet" have appeared articles, often accompanied by lists of plates, on W. E. Fisher, C. Valentine Kirby, Arthur H. Noll, Claude Bragdon (who made the pertinent statement that "a book-plate should be simple and personal"), Emma J. Totten, Arthur Wellington Clark (not averse to a pictorial pun), Francis T. Chamberlain, Margaret Ely Webb, Mrs. A. R. Wheelan (an "artist thinker"; her designs mostly symbolical, with a "Western flavor"), E. J. Cross, G. H. Gihon (etcher), Mrs. Mary Eleanor Curran, the last four of California, French, J. W. and F. Spenceley, Hop-

son, Fincken and Plank. And to these may be added the names of Christia M. Reade, Mrs. Bertha Jaques, Ralph Fletcher Seymour and Emma Kipling Hess, prominent in the " book-plate number " of the " Sketch Book " (Chicago) for May, 1903, as also those of Mary L. Prindiville and Frank Chouteau Brown, subjects of articles in " Ex Libris " (1896-97).

In the activity indicated by all the names mentioned the amateur has had his part, and a creditable one, witness Stauffer, A. J. Brown, H. C. Eno, Cheney, A. H. Noll and A. W. Clark.

A number of able artists have devoted all or much of their energy to this form of art, fascinating to many. But one notes with a shade of regret the comparatively few cases in which an American painter or other artist has turned aside from brush and canvas, or other media, to design an occasional plate. Some who have turned to the designing of a book-plate are: Elihu Vedder, E. H. Blashfield, W. H. Lippincott, Winslow Homer, Howard Pyle, Henry Sandham, James E. Kelly, C. R. Lamb, A. F. Jaccaci, George Gibbs, Joseph Lauber, Joe Evans (plate for Richard Hoe Lawrence, 1881), Thomson Willing, Victor S. Perard, Henry Mayer and A. F. Matthews. To them may be added the architects Russell Sturgis (Avery Architectural Library, Columbia University: in form of tablet), Charles I. Berg, A. W. Brunner, George Fletcher Babb (Theodore L. De Vinne plate, with books in a cartouche, flanked by hermes) and Howard Van Doren Shaw.

We seem still too much dominated by the idea that

art, "high art," is painting or sculpture, and that most other forms can be left to the artist-artizan or treated as a bit of byplay. The realization must come that art, after all, should be the general application of principles of beauty in our daily life, and that this application is not unworthy of the best talent.

The committee in charge of the exhibit of the Club of Odd Volumes in Boston, 1898, in the preface to the catalogue, summarized its impressions of American achievement thus:

"Although America was one of the last of the nations to be affected by the book-plate revival, it has taken the lead in the matter of artistic plates and in the number of good plates produced. . . . It must be remembered that the great impetus came only about five years ago. In this short time, with the encouragement of enthusiastic collectors, our book-plate engravers and designers have placed this country ahead of all others in quantity as well as quality of work."

The call of the book-plate has become widespread and has occasioned a voluminous literature. The work of our American designers is dealt with in general in a number of books beside those mentioned elsewhere in this chapter. So in W. M. Stone's "Women Designers of Book-Plates" (published for "The Triptych," New York, 1902), the designers including a number of Americans, Mrs. Wheelan, Mrs. Beulah M. Clute, Bessie Pease, Mrs. Annie Hooper (who won a prize in a competition "instituted by the Buffalo Society of Artists"), Pamela Colman Smith, Miss Bonsall and Miss Hallowell of the

Plastic Club of Philadelphia, and others, even a prodigy of four and a half years. In the bibliography of our subject there figure furthermore Henry W. Fincham's "Artists and Engravers of British and American Book-Plates" (New York and London, 1897); W. G. Bowdoin's "The Rise of the Book-Plate" (1901); "Book-Plates of To-day" (1902) edited by W. M. Stone; "Book-Plates of well-known Americans" by Clifford N. Carver; Allen's "Ex Libris: Essays of a Collector" (Boston and New York, 1896), and Zella Allen Dixson's "Concerning Book Plates: a Hand Book for Collectors" (1903). Periodical articles are listed in C. D. Allen's "American Book-Plates" and in Bowdoin's book. And a number of monographs on individuals have appeared, beside those on French and Spenceley, noted elsewhere. From the Troutsdale Press were issued volumes on E. H. Garrett (1904), D. McN. Stauffer, Ipsen, Spenceley, Herbert Gregson, Elisha Brown Bird (1907), Louis J. Rhead, Mrs. Marguerite Scribner Frost, Ralph Fletcher Seymour and others. In each case there were reproductions of a selection of plates by the artist in question, with descriptive text, the latter being by W. H. Downes, W. Porter Truesdell, F. C. Brown, W. G. Bowdoin and others. A similar publication on Jay Chambers was advertised by "The Triptych," in 1902.

Personal reasons, literary associations, the love of possession, and particularly the diversity of artistic individuality displayed in these little plates, which may tell so much within a small compass, have brought about a specialization, in this direction, of the collecting spirit. The

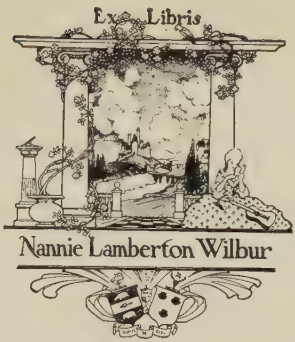
names of Henry Blackwell, H. C. Eno, Dr. Charles E. Clark, the late John P. Woodbury, Wm. E. Baillie and many others may be found in lists in the Allen and Dixson books, as also in Blackwell's articles in the "Book-Buyer" in the nineties, and in scattered references in "Ex-Libris" and the "Book-Plate Booklet." An attempt was made to unite interest in this subject into associated effort, by the founding of an American Book-Plate Society (Washington, D. C.), with its organ in the form of "Ex-Libris," which lived through four numbers (volume 1: July, 1896-April, 1897). In 1907 was formed the California Book-Plate Society, the moving spirit being Sheldon Cheney, who during 1907-11 issued at Berkeley, Cal., the "Book-Plate Booklet," succeeding "California Book-Plates." This periodical, now published at Kansas City as the "Ex-Libran," helped to rouse and keep alive interest in the West.

Collectors of ex-libris are to-day not only not few in number, but some of them—notably W. Baillie and H. Blackwell—have brought together particularly many of these plates. To the collector, furthermore, there is due directly or indirectly, the publication of most of the various writings dealing with the American side of our subject. There are the pioneer contributions to periodicals by R. C. Lichtenstein and J. H. Dubbs, C. D. Allen's books, already noted, and his paper read before the Club of Odd Volumes (1901), and the monographs on E. D. French by Paul Lemperly (Cleveland, 1899) and Ira H. Brainerd (New York, 1908) and on J. W. Spenceley by Pierre de Chaignon la Rose (Boston, 1905) and J. M.

Andreini (1910). So the collectors themselves have worked well to preserve the record of American accomplishment in a specialty which within its limits has offered the artist such varied opportunities.

Exhibitions of book-plates—some consisting entirely, others partly, of American work—have been held at the Grolier Club (1894: "A classified List of early American Book-Plates . . ." by C. D. Allen), at the Boston Museum of Art by the Club of Odd Volumes (the catalogue, 1898, lists 2,218 pieces, over one-half of them American), the Caxton Club, Chicago (1898), the Lynn Public Library (Dr. Charles E. Clark's collection, 1907), Society of Colonial Dames (Colonial plates, 1908; catalogue, with introduction by D. M. Stauffer), the California Book-Plate Society (Berkeley, 1908) and the New York Public Library (1910). The "Book-Plate Booklet" in 1907 announced that a permanent exhibit of plates from the collection of the Library had been set up in the library building at Berkeley, that the California State Library was preparing a traveling exhibit, and that four exhibitions of book-plates had been held at the Library of the University of California, in connection with the summer library school. "One man shows" were devoted to E. D. French in Cleveland (1899), the New York Public Library (1907) and the Grolier Club (1909); to J. W. Spenceley at the last two named places; and to Mrs. A. R. Wheelan in San Francisco (1904). Book-plates appear also in New York at the exhibitions of the Architectural League, the National Arts Club and the Salmagundi Club.

By E. A. Abbey



By W. E. Fisher

By W. F. Hopson

By E. D. French

By S. L. Smith

By G. W. Edwards

A Group of Modern Book-plates

(Courtesy of Charles Scribner's Sons)

And there are permanent collections preserved in public institutions,—the New York Public Library, Columbia University, University of California (plates by California artists) and elsewhere; also in the British Museum, where is housed the large collection of British and American plates, brought together by Sir Augustus Wollaston Franks, and listed in a three-volume catalogue (1903-04) by E. R. J. Gambier Howe.

In the light of these recent dates, the opinion of Arlo Bates (writing to the "Book Buyer," Feb. 10, 1888) that "the book-plate collecting craze seems to have died out in Boston," looks a bit premature. But perhaps it is true, after all; a craze has died out, not the interest.

CHAPTER XV

APPLIED GRAPHIC ART: FROM BUSINESS CARD TO POSTER

SURELY, ours is the land of the advertiser. The results of his activity confront us at every step. His enterprise is colossal, his inventiveness remarkable, his persistence mind-penetrating. In general, effect is sought by repetition, by the force of unusual size, or brilliancy or garishness. However, the "ad" that is in good taste is becoming more common; the artistic one is still not overwhelmingly in evidence. We have yet to appreciate more generally that an advertisement may be effective both commercially and artistically. Not that there is a want of good drawing in many of the advertisements that we see in cars and elsewhere. But there is too often nothing beyond the dryest pictorial statement of fact. When you come across such a conceit as the one shown by Edward Penfield in a cover for a March "Harper,"—a young woman scurrying before the strong wind usually associated with that month (which has even whipped her copy of the magazine out of her hands), accompanied by a hare of sufficient, though self-contained, madness,—it strikes with the pleasant effect of the unusual. Whether the frequent display of a lack of particular concentration or thought or a stimulating inventiveness is due to artist or client or the public it would, perhaps, be idle to discuss

here. Perhaps, too, there may be certain condescension on the part of some artists who occasionally turn to such "minor arts." But a work will surely bear on its face the mark of the spirit in which it was approached. If it was treated as a "pot-boiler," it will appear as one; if it was undertaken with both the earnest desire and the ability to put all that was possible into it, the dignity of the intention ennobles the result. And so a beer-bottle label may rise to a height that many an easel painting does not attain. The artists of the *Künstlerbund* in Karlsruhe, Germany, saw this when they undertook, with the necessary knowledge and humility, the designing of such labels for bottles and tin cans, of business cards and advertisements. German art in this field is not by any means to be generally commended; the puerile overcrowding of advertisements, the pretension that tries to make a mural painting of a poster, is not unknown in Teutonia. But the exercise of the great virtue of appropriateness which we find in the best work over there, caused a writer in the "Evening Post" of October 22, 1910, to say, with reference to the "3d annual exhibition of advertising art" at the National Arts Club, New York City: "The principal lesson of the exhibition is how far superior the Germans are to us in the pictorial advertisement." And farther on: "The thing to be advertised is forced upon you, and inoffensively forced." We have here an interesting illustration of the fact, pointed out by J. N. Laurvik in a review of the same exhibition ("International Studio," December, 1910) in the words: "A proper sense of the fitness of things is the underlying principle of all

good art." Of course, all this is not said with the idea that we are to copy the Germans; it is the spirit in which some of them attack the problem that is held up to emulation. Nor is it implied that our artists lack ability; the mere thought would be silenced at sight of drawings by F. X. Leyendecker, Penfield, Maxfield Parrish and others who have at various times placed their pencils at the service of commerce.

The strongly artistic element in our advertisements, and the importance of this phase of art, were well indicated by Frank Jewett Mather, Jr., in an essay entitled "Do the Arts make for Peace?" quoted editorially in "Art and Progress," April, 1912: "And while our millionaires are wresting the accredited treasures of older art from aristocracy, in the most democratic fashion possible the illustrated magazine and even the advertisement are bringing a respectable and an improving grade of pictorial art to the millions. Here is a jumble of activities, vanities, cruder and finer desires, which shows at least that art is very alive in our civilization."

But one feels that there might be a closer relation between commerce and art, a better understanding. A peculiar comment on the existence of this possibility may be found in the fact that the same business interests which look, apparently unmoved, on omnipresent disfiguring billboards and signs, ugly and pretentious architecture and paper-littered streets, will speak primarily of the beauty and fineness of their home city when commending it to the outsider.

Our present-day "ads," as we see them displayed on

cards in cars, are mainly text, with pictures thrown in by way of emphasis. They are usually statements of fact, pointed, sometimes humorous, printed on a card which is in part occupied by a picture. There is often no relation between type and illustration, the decorative quality being absent. The display of humor is comparatively rare, and is apt to run to caricature. An example of the force of grotesque types, insistently presented in various circumstances, is offered by Mrs. Grace G. Wiederseim's peculiar infants singing the praises of a certain product with the haunting persistence of droll appeal. Another set of car-posters, effective both in drawings and text, was the "Spotless Town" series of a certain cleaning compound.

There is not a little clever drawing in these advertisements. It is indeed a far cry from the few and unambitious efforts which were made at pictorial advertising in the days of wood-engraving, to the superabundancy of such material in these times of more rapid and cheaper reproductive processes. In the first half of the nineteenth century they did not go much beyond stock cuts such as the little railway trains, or ships, which puffed or sailed at the head of newspaper advertisements of transportation companies. A little later came the use of woodcuts of show fixtures bearing an assortment of hats or shoes (D. Haines engraved on copper, in 1822, a high hat on a stand on a card for Tweedy & Benedict, hatters). Then there were such conceits as an elephant rushing along triumphantly bearing aloft a pennant on which appeared the name of the firm advertised, or a sandwich man with

similar information. In the advertising columns of the "Illustrated American News" of 1851, a thresher, a piano, a carriage, a horse, top offers of those articles, while the letters "BANNERS," upheld by little nude figures, announce the business of a sign-painter. Such cuts were used also on business cards, a form of pictorial advertising not common now. In cigarette cards with portraits of actresses or pictures of military uniforms the pictures advertise indirectly, having, of course, no relation to the object sold. The same applies to the spool-cotton concern's cards with landscape sketches in color by Charles Graham,—"exquisite," as H. A. Ogden described them to me.

Continuing this retrospective record of this form of applied art, material is found also in the days of copper-plate engraving, particularly during the later years of the eighteenth century and the earlier ones of the nineteenth. Then, a number of our engravers were turning an honest penny in producing card plates for business purposes. One has but to run over the pages of Stauffer's book on American engravers, or of the catalogue of the exhibition at the Boston Museum in 1904, to see how frequently this was done. Paul Revere, Joseph Callender, William Hamlin (who engraved several cards for his own nautical instrument business), St. Memin (a card for Peter Mourgeon, "copper-plate printer from Paris," of New York), Peter Maverick and Childs & Carpenter (1822) were among the engravers of such cards, sometimes with lettering only, again with added vignettes to illustrate for the man who ran. Pictorial billheads were done by

Revere, Henry Dawkins, Hingston and Callender. And on the wood block, Alexander Anderson and Abel Bowen did similar cards in the earlier years of the nineteenth century. In the copper-plates, the formality and dignity of the medium was inevitably mirrored in the result, just as to-day the work shows the effect of the freedom afforded by the ease of reproduction through modern reproductive processes.

A familiar form of advertising is the poster, and that was long the domain of the wood-cutter. The work was done on planks of wood, basswood, usually, perhaps; but mahogany was also used. T. D. Sugden, the wood-engraver, wrote: "J. Morse . . . working for Mr. Welch's circus on mahogany blocks." And W. J. Linton, quoting B. J. Lossing ("Memoir of Alexander Anderson," New York, 1872, p. 80): "The younger Lansing then [1838] engraved only the large coarse theater bills, using mahogany for the purpose." He continues: "Joseph W. Morse, at that time with Strong, was, I believe, the first who engraved these on pine with an open graver, about 1840; and Strong first produced them, from designs by George Thomas, in combination of colors."

Crude these things were at best, though effective in a simple way. The coloring was mainly on the chiaroscuro principle; a tint-block or two, with lights cut out in the shape of heavy white lines. Some of them were reproduced in "The Modern Poster" (New York, 1895); these were done by the Metropolitan Print Co., in one case designed by Robert Joste. These woodcut posters were used well into the eighties, A. S. Seer issuing many,

as also Richardson & Foos. They have been seen in New York's subway stations quite recently. Moreover, James Britton, who engraved some effective posters from his own designs a dozen years ago, showed what could be done with the simple tools used by the engravers of the Calhoun Co. (Hartford, Conn.), wood-carvers' tools ground down to the length of a boxwood graver, the blade being grooved to prevent splitting in the wood, basswood, quite soft and free from knots.

Lithography has long since seized on the specialty of the poster. Indeed, Mr. Louis Maurer, the lithographer, has recollection of posters designed by Peter Krämer as early as 1863 or '4. Mr. Maurer, who was then with Major & Knapp, thinks also that Krämer, who, as H. G. Plumb says, produced some of the best theatrical posters before 1870, did such work on large plates of zinc, adding that the use of zinc as a substitute for the lithographic stone long antedated that of aluminum. Krämer, who was with Ferd. Mayer & Sons (Fulton St., New York), did for that house a humorous advertisement issued for the Liederkranz Carnival of February 4, 1871.

Theatrical posters—both the large for billboards and the small for windows—were particularly numerous during the seventies and eighties. They were always either portraits of individual actors (H. A. Thomas, Napoleon Sarony and Joseph E. Baker signed many) or illustrations of scenes in the play, the more startling and thrilling the better. As several posters were sometimes made for one play, the boy in those days of the melodramatic Bartley Campbell and the resplendently scenic Kiralfy Brothers

(e.g., " Around the World in Eighty Days ") could often gain a fair idea of the delights in store by studying the pictures in the various shop windows. A collection of such posters shows much very poor work, with at best such smooth, sure crayon-drawing, as the facile and rather monotonous and fuzzy portraits by Baker for J. H. Bufford and Forbes Co.

But there came also the rising influence of Matthew Somerville (" Matt ") Morgan (1839-90), felt even in the later work of such a draughtsman as Vic. Arnold.

Matt Morgan, brought over as a political cartooning antidote to Thomas Nast, found his success in scene painting and poster art. He, too, did illustrative (not decorative) posters, but did them with noteworthy skill. Some of his works are remembered to-day; the design for the Kiralfy Brothers' *Black Venus* was one of them. Lithographs such as the two he did illustrating the frozen river scene in *Jay Rial's Ideal Uncle Tom's Cabin,* were effective in a scenic way. But he also executed portraits of actresses which, while drawn with a certain freedom in the figures, left nothing to be desired, in the faces, in the way of smooth, flat, uninteresting reproduction of the photographic original. Yet one must be thankful for the best of his productions, when compared with such indifferent affairs as the one printed by A. S. Seer, for Daly's production of the *Taming of the Shrew* (1888). Much of Morgan's work was signed, and this very compliment paid to an artist's importance no doubt not only implied more than common ability to begin with, but awoke a natural desire to live up to the reputation. I found the

monogram of Henry F. Farny on at least one poster, a Venetian moonlight scene done for Bartley Campbell's *Galley Slave* and printed by the Strobridge Co. And H. A. Ogden, who did a large number of the pictorial class, anonymously, signed his name to two done in 1896, for *Madame Sans-Gêne,* each consisting of a single figure with some background and the lettering. They are probably among his best, posters purely, and not illustrative.

The Strobridge Lithographic Co. (with which Morgan was connected and for which H. A. Ogden has drawn scenes in many plays, from the late seventies to the present day), A. S. Seer, Forbes Co. of Boston (J. E. Baker, their artist), Thomas and Wylie (Dan Smith was with Thomas about 1885, says Louis Maurer), W. J. Morgan & Co. were prominently identified with this period.

H. C. Bunner's graceful comments (to be referred to later) on America's part in the mural art of advertising were illustrated with an interesting series of reproductions of theatrical and circus posters by E. Potthast, Matt Morgan (both identified with the Strobridge Co.), Joseph E. Baker, Theodore Liebler, Hugo Ziegfeld (H. C. Miner-Springer Litho. Co.), F. M. Hutchins and one by A. Hoen & Co. Most of this was smooth, uninteresting work in which any artistic originality had little chance. Even when a French poster was used for *Around the World in Eighty Days,* it was a small affair drawn by F. Lix, engraved on wood, simply a collection of illustrations with figures not over an inch high; not a poster, in effect.

Meanwhile, Cheret arose in France, but the influence of the principles which his work expressed was hardly felt here, except in frank imitations, such as the figure of a ballet girl announcing a run of the *Black Crook* at the Academy of Music (New York) in 1892. C. B. Cochran (in "The Poster," London, July, 1898) puts the date at 1894, and states that the poster design was bought in Paris by Eugene Tompkins and used here. Cochran records also that this Cheret poster was followed by two by Jacobi for Kiralfy's Eldorado and Koster & Bial's Music Hall, respectively, and these by the designs of Scotson Clark. There are recorded also such sporadic examples as Bradley's poster for *The Masqueraders,* F. A. Nankivell's Marie Hatton poster for Koster & Bial's—"indeed a thing of beauty," wrote Cochran—and Wilfred Denslow (sometimes à la Bradley, sometimes broadly humorous, as W. S. Rogers says), Will R. Barnes and others are named.

Thus the merely illustrative commercial poster did not hold the field entirely. Decorative possibilities began to be appreciated and efforts were made to establish harmony between lettering and design. Charles Hiatt ("Picture Posters," London, 1895) and W. S. Rogers ("A Book of the Poster," London, 1901) each have chapters on American posters, in which many names are cited of which some are already but vaguely remembered. This new spirit was felt less, perhaps, in theatrical posters than in those issued by magazines and newspapers, in which the limitations imposed called for exercise of artistic ingenuity. The result, indeed, was not infrequently a revel in decora-

tive effect without relation to the thing advertised, just as our magazine covers (used as posters) are often not cover designs, but simply pictures slapped on below a printed title. Nevertheless, there was much work of interest, and it all was stimulating.

In fact there was for a while (about 1894-5) a veritable poster craze, which, as R. R. Latimer puts it ("The Poster," London, Aug.-Sep., 1898), "spread like wildfire . . . and died away after about a year of frenzied enthusiasm." It had its own literature, among which was C. K. Bolton's "The Reign of the Poster" (Boston, 1895, 14 pages). A little poster periodical ("The Poster") was issued in New York in 1896. Collections were formed; for instance that of Charles Knowles Bolton (now librarian of the Boston Athenæum), who brought out in May, 1895, a "Descriptive Catalogue of Posters chiefly American in the collection of Charles Knowles Bolton with biographical Notes and a Bibliography." Other collectors recorded are Alfred Bartlett, of Cornhill, William T. Peoples of New York, who specialized on French posters, Wilbur Cherrier Whitehead (catalogue printed 1895), George Dudley Seymour, of New Haven, spoken of by Elbert Hubbard in "Ex-Libris" for January, 1897, and Henry Lawrence Sparks, whose collecting activity embraces various lands and comes down to the present time. Part of the Sparks collection was shown at the Salmagundi Club, New York, in 1912.

Exhibitions were held also during this period, at the Brookline (Mass.) Public Library (Feb. 11-20, 1895, arranged by C. K. Bolton); at the Union League Club,

New York City, (Feb. 14-16, 1895); Pratt Institute (March, 1895: American and French work); Denver (*Exhibition of artistic Posters, chiefly American, from the private Collections of J. H. Warren, "The Book Leaf," and the Denver Public Library, July 1895*); C. S. Pratt's, 169 6th Avenue, New York City, October, 1895 (J. Brevoort Cox did a poster for this); Mechanic's Institute, Boston (the catalogue of which was heralded by a poster by Claude Fayette Bragdon, "after Willette," and E. B. Bird designed one for the poster exhibit of the "Mechanic's Fair," Boston, 1895); Rhode Island School of Design, Providence, 1895 (catalogue printed); by the "Echo" of Chicago, 1896 (catalogue printed); and at the Mercantile Library, New York City (Feb. 12-15, 1896). The last-named exhibit consisted of the collection of the librarian, W. T. Peoples, comprising mainly French work, with the addition of loans of American posters, over 900 in all. Mr. Peoples subsequently loaned the pick of his posters to the Philadelphia Public Library, where they were shown for a time, and some of them were also borrowed by churches for receptions and like occasions. ("The Critic" of Feb. 23, 1895, found that the American designs did not carry so far as the French and therefore did better within four walls.) A little later (1899) there was an exhibit at the Fidelis Club, New York, where, according to Percival Pollard, 1,500 examples were shown. An earlier display at the Grolier Club, New York (1890), included only French work. This club itself, by the way, contributed to the advancement of the movement by the issuance of a delicate and appropriate poster heralding

its exhibition of Japanese prints and an address by Howard Mansfield, in 1896. This poster, Mr. Mansfield tells me, was picked up in a lot by the late E. B. Holden, the lettering being added typographically.

The theatrical poster, not particularly affected by this movement of the nineties, continued mainly in the beaten path of realistic representation, often on a very large scale, and not infrequently attracting attention principally by its huge proportions. There were exceptions, as already noted.

But in those days it was the magazine and book publishers who were the main support of this new spirit in its short-lived tide of conspicuous success. "Art in poster-making has in this country found its best inspiration, in most cases, from literature," said H. C. Bunner, in his chapter on the United States, in "The Modern Poster" (New York, 1895). The Harpers, the Century Co., the Scribners and others issued a series of posters (mostly small, for window display) advertising their magazines and books. The "Century Magazine" even went abroad, holding a poster contest in Paris in 1895; Lucien Métivet won with his January, 1896, Napoleon poster. Another foreign-made poster advertising the "Century's" life of Napoleon was the equestrian one by Grasset, who much later came before our billboard public again with his Bernhardt-Joan-of-Arc design. Boutel de Monvel was also laid under contribution by the "Century."

However, home talent was widely enlisted and accomplished noteworthy results. Posters for books were designed by Henry McCarter (a green tree with purple

birds for the Green Tree Library), Ethel Reed (A. M. Bagby's "Miss Träumerei," with a suggestion of the French romantiques, and Mabel Blodgett's "Fairy Tales"), Will H. Bradley ("The Modern Poster," a peacock, effective in green, blue and white, and R. D. Blackmore's "Fringitta"), E. A. Abbey ("Quest of the Holy Grail," lettering in harmony with drawing, well characterized as "bold and impressive"), I. R. Wiles, Peter Newell, Maurice Brazil Prendergast, Abby E. Underwood ("fashion artist for the New York Sun," said C. K. Bolton) and Will P. Hooper (a poster each for "Chimmie Fadden"), C. D. Gibson, H. C. Christy, F. B. Smith ("Tom Grogan" and "The Delft Cat"), Thomas Buford Meteyard ("Songs of Vagabondia" and "The Ebb Tide"), Vierge ("On the Trail of Don Quixote"), Palmer Cox (for a new one of his "Brownie" books), E. W. Kemble ("Kemble's Coons"), Oliver Herford ("Artful Anticks"), and R. W. Chambers (for his "King in Yellow" and "Father Stafford"). It will be noted that not a few of these artists thus helped to advertise books written, or illustrated, or both, by themselves. It has, in fact, been a not uncommon practice to transplant some illustration in a book directly to the poster for the same. (More recently, F. Y. Cory, in a design in yellow on black, offered a summary and effective announcement of Josephine Daskam's "Memoirs of a Baby.")

John Sloan, who in those days was quite Beardsley-like in manner, did a few publishers' announcements, such as the characteristic one for "Cinder Path Tales," in

black on brown paper. Both he (for "Philadelphia Inquirer" and "Philadelphia Press") and McCarter "Lourdes," for the "New York Herald") designed illustrations for stories in the "poster style," as he says. Sloan describes his own as "black and white, in flat tints," and adds that he was "started in this direction partly through a Japanese in Philadelphia, Beisen Kuboda, art commissioner to the World's Fair, Chicago." Here, the personal weight was presumably added to the general Japanese influence which in the second half of the nineteenth century made itself felt in Caucasian art. McCarter's "Lourdes" illustrations R. W. Chambers characterized as "intensely sincere and decorative," adding that neither the "Herald" nor the public liked them.

It was, however, the announcements for magazines, more than those for books, which gave opportunity to poster artists. In these years, 1894-96, the "Century" issued designs by I. R. Wiles (July, 1894), George Wharton Edwards; Edward Penfield; Charles H. Woodbury; Louis Rhead (Christmas number: woman holding aloft a peacock on a dish); the three prize winners in the mid-summer poster competition, 1896: J. C. Leyendecker (1st prize), Maxfield Parrish (2d), Baron Arild Rosenkrantz (3d); E. Potthast (highly commended in the same competition); H. M. Rosenberg (1896); E. B. Bird; H. M. Lawrence; and later F. Berkeley Smith. "St. Nicholas" used designs by Louis Rhead and Moores. "Scribner's" (for which H. C. Brown had drawn as early as 1891, and Victor S. Perard in 1892) employed L. L. Roush (1894), Francis Day, Kenyon Cox (March,

1895, figure and lettering in effective harmony), Birch, Will Carqueville, W. Granville Smith, L. J. Rhead, W. H. Low, W. T. Smedley, Sergeant Kendall (portraits of C. S. Reinhart and R. F. Blum as artist contributors); Geo. M. Reevs, H. McCarter, Hy Mayer ("Olympic Games" number). Furthermore, there were posters for "Harper's Bazar" by Rhead; "Lippincott's" by Will Carqueville and J. J. Gould, Jr.; "Atlantic" by R. R. Emerson (July, 1895); "Youth's Companion" by W. L. Taylor; "Illustrated American" by Archie Gunn; "Bookman" by Rhead and G. C. Parker; "Overland Magazine" by L. M. Dickson (1895) and E. B. Bird; "Quarterly Illustrator" by W. J. Yegel; "Outing" by H. S. Watson; "Truth" by Hy Mayer and E. Haskell; "Chap Book" by W. H. Bradley and E. B. Bird; "Black Cat" by E. B. Bird; "Inland Printer" by Will Bradley (1894-5) and E. B. Bird; "Bostonian" by A. G. Learned; and "Moods" (Philadelphia) by John Sloan, who describes this periodical as the "nearest attempt *à la* 'Yellow Book' done in this country," and states that it went through a couple of numbers.

The newspapers at this time (still 1894-95) availed themselves to a noteworthy extent of the aid of the poster in its new manifestation. Drawings by Miles C. Gardner, Wm. M. Paxton, Charles M. Howard, Ethel Reed and E. H. Garrett were issued for the "Boston Sunday Herald"; by Rhead for the "Boston Transcript"; by Frank King, R. F. Outcault (Easter number, 1895), M. de Lipman, Alder (had "all the go and deviltry and 'chic' that Guillaume possesses," said R. W. Chambers)

for the "New York World," for which Dan Smith, in 1903, did a huge announcement of its anniversary number of May 10th; by Charles Hubbard Wright (Easter, 1895) for the "New York Herald"; by de Yonghe for the "New York Times"; by Henry B. Eddy and E. Haskell for the Sunday issues of the "Journal" (New York); by Will H. Bradley for the Chicago Sunday "Tribune" and "Echo"; by Biorn and Nankivell for the "Chicago Echo"; by Will W. Denslow for the "Chronicle," "Herald" and "Times-Herald," all of Chicago; by Ottmann for the "Chicago Tribune"; by Mrs. Alice R. Glenny for the woman's edition of the "Buffalo Courier"; by Claude Fayette Bragdon for the "Rochester Post-Express," and by Louis J. Rhead for the "New York Sun."

As one looks over the list of the artists drawn to the service of the magazine and newspaper advertiser in those days, an interesting agglomeration of personalities is encountered. The names of the many who were laid under contribution by the spirit of poster improvement emphasize the inclusiveness of the choice, though it did not always fall on those who showed peculiar fitness for the task or a full appreciation of its nature and possibilities. Discrimination, understanding and singleness of purpose were perhaps not always evident in the results, though they were in a remarkably large number of cases. At least the designs were usually in good taste, and the individual artist was given some opportunity.

Bradley was one of those who attacked the problem with serious intent. He brought to the task some of the

influence of Beardsley, more, perhaps, of the spirit of the old wood-engravers, and certainly a decorative instinct quite his own. The complete, a little involved, expression of this bent toward ornamental fullness somewhat detracted at times from the absolute effectiveness of his works as posters, an element less apparent in his color-plate for "Modern Posters," already referred to, than in some of his line work. The "Inland Printer" posters and particularly those for the "Chap Book" are noteworthy products by one who was a prominent example of what Percival Pollard, in "Poster," London, February, 1899, called "the earliest efflorescence of the American poster." His poster for the "Historical Musical Exhibition under the auspices of Chickering & Sons" (Boston, 1902) is somewhat Parrish-like, with an eighteenth-century woodcut effect. It represents a taste for quaint, old-time spirit which has frequently been exercised, in this country, but not always with as good taste as here. Bradley even attempted a magazine for the "exclusive display of his various efforts in decorative art," with the title: "Bradley: His Book."

Simplicity and directness, two important factors in the attainment of the poster's prime function,—to advertise, to attract attention and to hold it,—have marked the work of Edward Penfield, who has been particularly happy in some of his conceits. One of his "Harper" posters was referred to at the beginning of the present chapter; in another, a sportsman is so absorbed in his magazine that he entirely overlooks two hares almost within reach of his hand. His work is strong in its em-

phatic directness of line and its broad, flat tints. Bunner used his "March hare" Harper design as a text for a little disquisition on native art: "In the lightness, freshness and purity of that humor, in the composition, free without license and unconventional without extravagance, in the striking yet inoffensive use of color, in the frankness and unaffected innocence and happy simplicity of the whole thing, I find a quality which, I am grateful to think, comes to the American artist as his natural and honest birthright." Penfield himself, in his introduction to "Posters in Miniature," summarily states a basic principle: "A poster should tell its story at once—a design that needs study is not a poster, no matter how well it is executed."

The work of Louis Rhead, who was doing posters for the Harpers and the Century Co. as early as 1890-91 (see Gleeson White's article on him in the "Studio" for 1896), was striking, at times based on daring color schemes; it had not necessarily any relation to the thing advertised. As I remember his posters, even the colors were not always those of nature. These qualities were quite apparent in that design of a young woman walking in a field used by the "Sun." There was method in this outlandishness. Few lines, flat tints, the simplest possible composition were combined, in that particular poster, for instance, into a harmonious whole which, with a certain aloofness from material facts, attracted attention with a blare that had none of the shrillness of vulgar overemphasis. In a second article on posters, in the "New York Times," February 23, 1896, Robert W. Chambers

gave much space to Rhead and those who "out-Rheaded him."

To all the names already cited may be added the following, listed by C. K. Bolton: S. Cruset, H. McVickar, Bertram Grosvenor Goodhue and Julius A. Schweinfurth (Boston Festival Orchestra, 1895). And the curious may find still more in the book by W. S. Rogers.

A considerable number of the posters by the artists mentioned were reproduced in "Some Posters reproduced by Wm. Troyon Higbee" (Cleveland, 1895; the edition I saw was limited to 15 copies) and in "Posters in Miniature, with an Introduction by Edward Penfield" (New York, 1896), both of which books contained also portraits of a number of the poster designers: Abbey, E. B. Bird, Bradley, Carqueville, C. D. Gibson, Nankivell, Penfield, Ethel Reed, Rhead, John Sloan, F. B. Smith, etc.

In the days of the poster excitement that centered about the year 1895, even the art world was seized with the fever, to this extent that the National Academy of Design and the American Water Color Society in 1895 each used a poster designed by George Wharton Edwards, while Charles Herbert Woodbury is credited with one for the Society of Painters in Water Colors of Holland (exhibition in Chase's gallery) in the same year. The American Water Color Society's catalogue cover for 1895, by George Wharton Edwards, was a bit overloaded, perhaps, but well drawn and effective in its way. Incidentally it was a punning design, the young woman splashing "water" from the fountain, and the peacocks sug-

gesting " color." In recent years, the water-colorists have used on their covers a vignette by F. S. Church.

A poster, done no doubt in the early eighties, for a " Grand concert of the Gotham Art Students " (New York), printed by Thomas & Wylie, but drawn or inspired quite evidently by artist or art student, illustrated a probably not uncommon error of the designer who has more respect for art than understanding of poster needs. It was chaste enough, but the attempt to be artistic in the figure and in the lettering resulted in a colorless affair and was fatal to clearness.

Subsequent noteworthy efforts to advertise art do not come to mind, beyond an occasional affair such as the one by Britton, already referred to, for the Connecticut League of Art Students, or the simple, dignified performance of E. H. Blashfield for the twenty-fifth anniversary of the Art Students' League, of New York, in 1900. Some of the little posters of this same League's " Society of American Fakirs " are of an effective directness in their exuberant humor, for instance the one for the " fifteenth annual slam,"—Satan in black and red. The Society of American Artists used the figure designed for its catalogue cover by Will H. Low, and the National Academy of Design similarly uses its cover design.

An element that must not be overlooked is the impetus given by business. Even among old woodcut posters I came across an announcement of " gifts," issued by Paul & Curtis, 594 Broadway, with the traditional Santa Claus preparing to slide down the chimney. In 1896 the New York " Poster " reproduced various designs for the Co-

lumbia Bicycle, including Maxfield Parrish's, which won first prize. Charles D. Farrand also did a poster for this bicycle, and Bradley one for the "Victor," in those days of the cycling fever. "Pearline" (1895) and Lundborg's Perfumes were decoratively advertised by L. J. Rhead; Hood's Sarsaparilla by various artists, including Bradley, who also heralded "Narcoticura," while R. Wagner, it appears, was engaged by tobacco houses. "Aetna Dynamite" was dealt with by Penfield (his design showed an Italian with a red flag, with a suggestion of a volcano in the background), and the Hartford Building and Loan Association as well as the Millyer Institute, Hartford, by Wilbur Macey Stone. In recent years some of the dry-goods houses as well as other business concerns have been testing the efficiency of the large poster on elevated and subway railroad stations. Or there may come such surprises as Jessie Willcox Smith's children in a home made cheerful by a certain brand of radiators.

We have long been accustomed to seeing the shop window turned into a portrait gallery of candidates in the weeks before an election. But where the poster has entered the political field as an argument it has quite naturally been typographical in the main, and only exceptionally pictorial. In the latter case the vein of caricature is apt to appear; an effective newspaper cartoon may be reproduced on a large scale, or a pictorial skit drawn specially for the occasion, *vide* Tammany's "Spotter's Town" series in New York. In the campaign of 1903 in New York City the Citizen's Union in its fight for

Seth Low against Tammany utilized designs by Chester Loomis and Ella Condie Lamb. Allegorical figures (usually one) stood for the various departments of the city's government or for matters of vital public interest, and served as a sort of background for pithy printed statements and comparisons. Police, Charities, Health, Parks, Schools, Tenements, Transportation, Honesty, and "Our City" were thus treated in simple and direct manner. These, as well as work by G. W. Edwards, James Preston, W. W. Fawcett, F. D. Steele, R. E. Gould Co. and O. J. Gude Co. were shown at an exhibition of artistic posters and advertising matter held by the Municipal Art Society of New York at the National Arts Club of that city in 1906.

So we have come to more recent times, and the question naturally arises: did the ebullient poster enthusiasm of '95 leave any good results? In reply, one need but make the time-honored comparison of "before using" and "after." Since the advertising world swallowed the dose of '95, things have not been quite the same. Not that everything is rosy; the very diversity of racial antecedents, of training and environment, of esthetic and ethical viewpoint, in our land, especially in that congeries known as the metropolis, produces much that is objectionable in the general whoop to be heard. But it strikes one that the average artistic merit, and the average taste, of the pictorial advertisement is better and at the same time applied with more appropriateness and effectiveness than "before the poster war." And if, as was said at the beginning of the chapter, much of our poster and

car advertising is typographical rather than pictorial, that may perhaps be due to the fact that our growing taste for better art has not yet overcome our national tendency to talk.

Occasional opportunities for review are offered, as in the exhibits of advertising art at the National Arts Club. On memory and on catalogues of such shows one may draw for names of those who have used their artistic capabilities in this field,—Robert J. Wildhack, F. G. Cooper, Orson Lowell, Walter Meyner, Gil Spear, Sydney Adamson, Darwin Teague and others.

In the field of public entertainments on a large scale we have had the poster for the Electrical Show, Madison Square Garden (New York City, 1905), signed "B" and printed by Seiter & Kappes; or that of the Pan-American Exposition, Buffalo (1901), produced by Gies & Co., an iridescent personification of Niagara Falls. The latter is different indeed from such an affair as that of the Lewis & Clark Exhibition, the usual bird's-eye view, though effective, perhaps, through the very positiveness of its appeal. A disappointment is such a piece of work as the "proclamation" for the New Orleans Mardi Gras of 1904. (I name here posters which happen to have come my way, without pretense at general inclusiveness, for the poster is elusive indeed.) Here, too, may be noted the chaste announcement of the 150th anniversary of King's College, 1904.

The circus poster has gone on its accustomed way of effective illustration of the alliterative and imaginative grandiloquence of the text. T. Arthur Jacobsen's hurdle-

jumpers for "Squadron A. games," and Max F. Klepper's equestrian scene for the military tournament, both in New York City, were attempts to characterize shows by typical pictorial generalities rather than by depiction of specific acts.

In recent years there has appeared occasionally, on very large theatrical posters, the use of a figure or two, life size or over, in combination with a minimum of text drawn in huge letters, the whole forming a not unpleasing effect. Once or twice, too, a welcome change from the mammoth illustrative poster has been found in the swirling lines of Hy Mayer or the vivaciousness of Archie Gunn. And Ernest Haskell has drawn several studies of Mrs. Minnie Maddern Fiske which attracted attention by their very reticence, which stood out by the simplicity of means by which they were produced. There was that head in profile to left, crayoned with an almost pertly incisive characterization; the small "Becky Sharp" in full-length; the seated figure for Mary of Magdala, with its aroma of Byzance and mosaics. It was unusual to see a painter-lithograph actually appear on a billboard, the unaltered reproduction of the artist's own touch, not seen dimly through the intermediate work of the practised lithographer. S. de Ivanowski's almost life size full-length presentation of Nazimova attracted attention on similar grounds.

There was dignity in the archer used for *Ulysses,* by Stephen Phillips (no signature but that of the Metropolitan Printing Co.). And some years ago the same printers signed an announcement of *The Ajax of Sopho-*

cles enacted by the Greeks of New York at Clinton Hall; appropriate in style, modern, yet with a classic strain, with a suggestion of Greek vase decoration in its color. Quite different in style, with kinship to Forain, was the drawing by Boardman Robinson used by the Coburn Players at Columbia University in 1911. And there was that series of window posters put out one season by Francis Wilson, sketches, by various artists, of that actor of facile fun-making.

Without the help of any craze, posters and advertisements are being produced which command attention by their good qualities. Some commercial ones have been mentioned incidentally while discussing earlier work.

More recently there has been seen an occasional effort to do something out of the ordinary in magazine posters. One recalls with amused satisfaction Frank A. Nankivell's " Mr. Bibliocrank " crowded out of his house by his books (done for the defunct " Literary Collector ") —engraved on wood by the artist, and tinted from two color blocks etched on zinc. Arthur Wesley Dow's design for " Modern Art " edited by J. M. Bowles will always remain an interesting example of true artistic feeling and mood expressed with a simplicity of means, and a terseness of statement in its uninvolved composition and color, that form a straightforward and effective response to the prime requisites, the basic demands in poster art.

Generally, the magazine poster to-day is a printed list of contents for the current month with a noteworthy illustration of that issue thrown in, or a reproduction of the cover. For the cover of the magazine, changing each

month, is a poster in itself, a striving for novelty, in fitful anxiety to be heard and seen. The unchanged cover, become a household word—like the old one for "Harper's," or the one by Vedder which long served the "Century"—is the exception. The cover is an "ad." Pictorial, too, like so many posters and advertisements, pictorial not infrequently without the slightest reference to the general nature of the magazine or the contents of the specific number. The spirit of thoughtless devotion to a type, and to the flourish of an up-to-date manner, is felt here as in illustration. In fact, cover designing is often enough simply illustration.

The list of names that appear on cover designs includes those of many able artists. Among them are Will Bradley, Wm. Martin Johnson ("Harper's Bazar," 1893-95), Maxfield Parrish, George Wharton Edwards, Joseph C. and Frank X. Leyendecker, George F. Tobin, Guernsey Moore, Binner, Jessie Willcox Smith, Henry Hutt, John Cecil Clay, and Victor S. Perard.

Not a few of their products are, as already indicated, drawings on covers rather than cover designs. But there are always some which show that the artist really had something to say, something that had to do with the matter in hand.

The West has had its "Sunset" posters, often reproducing the cover design and often very good. Methfessel has done some of these, and particularly Maynard Dixon; there is quiet humor in the latter's design for December, 1904: Santa Claus with an Indian on one arm and a cowboy on the other. These "Sunset" drawings

have a freshness and swing born of the soil and with no weakness of super-sensitive preciosity or swagger up-to-dateness.

There has been a noteworthy improvement in the get-up of dealers' catalogues, an improvement with which the influence of such publications as "Printing Art" and "The Graphic Arts" has presumably had something to do. This has extended also to some of the railway guide-books. Penfield, Haskell, Perard are a few among those who have decorated the catalogues of book-sellers and of various industrial concerns. Signatures, however, rarely appear on the products of this phase of art, which was dealt with in "Twentieth Century Cover Designs" (1902), a collection of nine essays issued by V. H. and E. L. Briggs.

Cover designs, meaning, of course, paper covers, naturally suggest book-covers of cloth or leather. Those, however, are not quite within the province of our survey, and there must not be more than a mere reference to a specialty in which Walter C. Greenough (see "American Bookmaker," July, 1890), Alfred Brennan, Miss Amy Sacker of Boston, and very many others have done good work.

But since we have got away from the advertising atmosphere which has pervaded much of the present chapter, a few lines may be given to the holiday card. To-day that represents a form of activity enlisting both native and foreign energy, and so extensive and commercialized that detailed consideration is not called for here, beyond the recording of the fact that there are some evidences

of individuality, as in the designs of Mrs. Bertha E. Jaques and others in Chicago and elsewhere. In such the tendency is toward decorative rather than pictorial effect.

The earlier history of the Christmas card in this country is interesting on account of the names associated with it. The first ones, flower cards, were designed by Mrs. O. E. Whitney, who, it is said, based her idea on the decorated business card of Louis Prang, the lithographer, shown at the Vienna Exposition of 1873. Then came the impetus given by the Centennial Exhibition of 1876. In 1880, Prang arranged a competitive exhibition at the American Art Galleries, New York, Samuel Colman, Richard M. Hunt and E. C. Moore being the judges. The prizes were won by Rosina Emmet (1st), Alexander Sandler (2d), Alfred Fredericks (3d), and Anna G. Morse (4th). At a second competition in 1881, the judges being Samuel Colman, John La Farge, and Louis C. Tiffany, the first prize went to Elihu Vedder, the second to Dora Wheeler (later Mrs. Keith), the third to Charles Caryll Coleman, the fourth to Rosina Emmet (later Mrs. Sherwood). At a third competition, 1881, two groups of prizes were awarded, one by the ballot of artists and art critics, the other by popular vote. The first group went to Dora Wheeler (1st), Miss Lizbeth B. Humphrey (2d and 3d), Alfred Fredericks (4th). The "popular" prizes were won by Dora Wheeler (1st), Walter Satterlee (2d), Frederick Dielman (3d), Miss Florence Taber (4th). For the fourth competition, 1884, Mr. Prang commissioned twenty-two artists of

standing to paint cards, which were then entered in a competition. The artists were J. Carroll Beckwith, E. H. Blashfield, Robert F. Bloodgood, I. H. Caliga, Thomas W. Dewing, Frederick Dielman, Rosina Emmet, Frederick W. Freer, Alfred Fredericks, I. M. Gaugengigl, W. St. John Harper, Lizbeth B. Humphrey, Will H. Low, Leon Moran, Percy Moran, Thomas Moran, H. Winthrop Pierce, A. M. Turner, Douglas Volk, J. Alden Weir, C. D. Weldon, Dora Wheeler. The prizes were awarded by dealers' vote, and were taken by C. D. Weldon, Will H. Low, Thomas Moran and Frederick Dielman, in the order indicated.

To these names were added, in the same firm's Easter card list for 1887, those of Fidelia Bridges, Henry Sandham, Lizbeth B. Comins and others. A number of designs by these artists are reproduced in "Christmas cards and their chief Designers," by Gleeson White, who says of these cards: "The charm of the coloring is not to be attributed entirely to a larger number of color printings, or superior chromo-lithography; both these factors no doubt helped to give the peculiarly harmonious result; but one can feel beyond this, that the artists employed recognized from the first the limitation of all mechanical reproduction, however perfectly manipulated, and designed accordingly."

The story of these Prang competitions is told in the catalogue of the Prang sale (Boston, 1899) and in an article in the "Evening Post" (New York) for December 9, 1911, where attention is called to the "very real influence in the education of taste" exerted by these

bits of pasteboard. It is for this last reason that I have given this matter so much space, and for the spirit of the projector who laid so many well-known or promising artists under contribution. Here was one example of the application of art to things near at hand, the entrance of art into daily life. And the problem of such service on the part of art without a loss of its ideals, a service that shall be just to both parties, is always with us.

To indicate just two possible openings: cards of invitation and menus are pretty generally executed under the name, and in the spirit, of large commercial houses. To find an artist's signature—T. Sindelar's, for instance —on the bill of fare of some banquet, is the exception. The Kit-Kat and other clubs of artists have occasionally sent out cards of invitation designed by members. And in the eighties and nineties, exhibitions of the works of individual artists, arranged by dealers, were occasionally advertised by cards designed by the artist in question. But such scattered instances do not, of course, indicate any general interest in an application of artistic principles, as a matter of course, to daily commercial needs.

Where the artists have an incentive to put their energies really to the task we get results that attract because they are attractive within the bounds of appropriateness. Always one reverts to the old truth that the medium, the object and the artist's personality must be considered in combination.

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